

ESSAYS
ON ANCIENT & MODERN LEARNING
AND
ON POETRY

SIR WILLIAM TEMPLE

EDITED, WITH INTRODUCTION AND NOTES

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INTRODUCTION

Sir William Temple, whose father was Master of the Rolls in Ireland, was born in London in 1628. He was educated at Emmanuel College, Cambridge, and eventually adopted a political career. He was a trusted and distinguished diplomatist—Mr. Gosse calls him “the most supple diplomatist of his time”—and was largely responsible for the negotiation of the triple alliance formed against Spain, in 1668, by England, Holland, and Sweden. He was for a time ambassador to Holland, and later returned to Holland to arrange the marriage between Princess Mary of England and William of Orange. Twice he was offered, and declined, a secretaryship of state. After the Revolution he was closely associated, as adviser, with King William, though he did not enter the Government. Swift was his secretary, and helped him in the writing of his *Memoirs*. The close of his life was clouded by family troubles, and he died in 1699. His literary work consists mainly of the *Memoirs* and of his essays and letters.

Temple was neither thinker nor scholar. The value of these essays lies not at all in fact, and but little in idea. There is a certain charm of personality, and Temple's style has admirable individual qualities, while historically it is of the greatest interest, and exercised considerable influence. There is, too, a certain fineness and responsiveness of literary taste, despite the fallibility of Temple's judgments and comparisons. But it is remarkable that a man so poor in scholarship should so confidently have essayed work in which erudition is essential. He knew but little Greek, and knew little, apparently, of modern literature, art, and science. Yet he tackles the theme of ancient and modern learning and pronounces confidently upon literature, science, and art, both ancient and modern. Where he does not know, he yet pronounces, and where he has some knowledge it is more than likely to be miscoloured by prejudice. Thus he dares to say that “the science of music is wholly lost in the world,” and ignores Gothic architecture. “He was not,” says Mr. Gosse, “a scholar, nor

a critic, nor a geographer, nor even a botanist, and yet scholarship, criticism, geography, and botany are the themes of his four principal essays." And again,—“It is the fault of Temple's discourses that they are too much like popular lectures by a very ignorant man who presumes upon his genteel appearance and elegant delivery. There are no productions which must be read more exclusively for their manner and not for their matter. Temple tells us nothing very agreeably, and then, while we are applauding, he dares to assert that there is no more for us to know.” For there is a tone of finality about his most ignorant judgments: he writes, as Professor Saintsbury says, with “an air of gentlemanly condescension.” Macaulay was very severe upon the essay on *Ancient and Modern Learning*, pointing out, for example, that in condemning modern literature Temple failed to mention Chaucer, Spencer, Shakespeare and Milton. Macaulay was not the most judicial of critics, but it is by no means an answer to his objections, and those of later critics, to say, as Professor Spingarn does, that “classical scholars have been content to echo these sneers.” Much may rightly be claimed for Temple, but work that presumes knowledge, and the indispensable condition of which is wide learning, must be criticised from the classical scholar's point of view among others, and from that point of view there is no defence for Temple. The *Phalaris* blunder is not the only one, and not by any means the most unfortunate, though it has brought the most ridicule upon the blunderer. His whole attitude, his central idea, in that essay is profoundly mistaken, while similarly, in the essay *Of Poetry*, true as is his appreciation of the noblest poetry, he shows himself incapable of appreciating those slighter kinds which nevertheless are great poetry. And throughout there is error after error of fact and judgment in detail—as is pointed out in the Notes; among the most conspicuous is what Mr. Gosse calls his “runic nonsense.” But the manner of stating the *Phalaris* error is typical. It is dangerous for the unscholarly man to refer thus to competent opponents—“I know several learned men (or that usually pass for such, under the name of critics) have not esteemed them (the *Epistles of Phalaris*) genuine.” The danger in this case materialised quickly. It was not long till Bentley was on the warpath. The present-day critic, while by no

means an "echoer" of Macaulay, and while prepared to give Temple his due, pronounces him ignorant, prejudiced, and wholly unreliable

Temple, however, had the virtue of judging for himself. His self confidence had its salutary side, for he would accept no opinion simply because it was current. And he displayed, when prejudice slept, a just and keen appreciation of literature. This is illustrated throughout these essays. Suffice it to refer here to two general matters. First, there were few of his contemporaries who so well understood the essential nature of high poetry, and the elements that go to its making. The passage in which he writes of this would be remarkable in any age, but was peculiarly remarkable in his. Here his general urbanity rises to noble enthusiasm. His imagination kindles, and the rhythm of his prose attains an unusual dignity and beauty. His analysis here is just and powerful. "There must be a great agitation of mind to invent, a great calm to judge and correct, there must be upon the same tree both flower and fruit." In such sentences there is the felicity of genius, and when he comes to those "great law-givers as well as princes," Homer and Virgil, his comparison is not merely true and subtle but perfectly figured and phrased. Secondly, and resulting from his apprehension of the nature of true poetry, we have his vigorous rejection of the principles of neo-classicism. He felt that these principles were much more *new* than truly *classical*—that they corresponded neither to the guiding ideas of ancient poets nor to the true intentions of ancient critics, and that their acceptance made true poetry impossible. We all know this well enough now, but it was against some of the most distinguished men of letters of his day that Temple maintained it. He would have nothing of the "rules." "After all, the utmost that can be achieved or, I think, pretended by any rules in this art is but to hinder some men from being very ill poets, but not to make any man a very good one." "There is something in the genius of poetry too libertine to be confined to so many rules, and whoever goes about to subject it to such constraints loses both its spirit and grace, which are ever native, and never learnt, even of the best masters." Here follows the figure of the bees, bringing out admirably the poet's freedom of impulse, of

scope, and of choice, his "infinite labour" is his own, to judge as to perform

Temple's essays are, in some degree, an anticipation of the eighteenth century essay as written by Addison and Steele. Writing of his essays in general, Temple says, "I have chosen those subjects of these essays wherein I take human life to be most concerned, and which are of most common use and most necessary knowledge, and wherein, though I may not be able to inform men more than they know, yet I may perhaps give them the occasion to consider more than they do." The true "essay" takes for its theme the ordinary interests of men. It is brief, and limited in its range. It seeks to be neither systematic nor complete in its treatment. suggestiveness and the utterance of his mood are more to the essayist than "the covering of the ground." Of all forms of prose composition the essay is that in which the writer's personality is most pervasive and most intimately revealed, and while here, as in all literary craftsmanship, there is a certain artistry of method and arrangement, diffuseness is no failing. The essayist is free to follow the trend of his thought, the bidding of his mood. The essay proper is no treatise but, in Bacon's phrase, a "dispersed meditation." The style corresponds it is informal, familiar, a style that, even more truly than that of more deliberate prose, is the expression of the man. Unfortunately both our essays are rather of the treatise than of the essay kind. They do not, except in isolated passages, represent Temple the essayist. We find him rather in such essays as that *Of Gardening*, or that *Of Health and Long Life*. In the essay on *Poetry* we come nearer to him than in the other, yet the critical purpose is too pervasive, the attempt at systematic treatment too obvious. It is incumbent upon the reader who would do full justice to Temple to follow him through his musings in at least the two other essays that have been mentioned. This is the sort of thing that he will find --

"Whether long life be a blessing or no, God Almighty only can determine, who alone knows what length it is like to run, and how it is like to be attended. Socrates used to say that it was pleasant to grow old with good health and a good friend, and he might have reason. A man may be content to live while he is no trouble to himself or his friends, but after

that, it is hard if he be not content to die I knew and esteemed a person abroad, who used to say a man must be a mean wretch that desired to live after threescore years old. But so much, I doubt, is certain, that in life, as in wine, he that will drink it good must not draw it to dregs "

He pursues thus his quiet meditations, illuminating them with memories of his reading, of the talk of the men he has met, of all that, in the strenuous and distinguished life before his retirement, he has heard and seen. "This combination," says Professor Walker, "of innate love of the quiet life with experience of the great world of courts and council-rooms constitutes the peculiar charm of Temple "

Eighteenth century critics considered Temple the foremost prose writer of his age. Some of them went even further, as when his friend Swift declared that no greater excellence in prose was possible to the English language. This, like Johnson's statement that Temple "was the first writer who gave cadence to English prose," is mere absurdity. Hooker, Taylor and Browne were by no means the only earlier writers who vastly excelled him in sustained rhythmic excellence of prose. But the claim that his prose was supreme in his time is nearly, if not quite, justified. Again, while Goldsmith exaggerates when he says that all the best prose writers of Queen Anne's reign modelled their style upon Temple's, they did study and greatly admire him. Addison's general manner, equable, genial, not too serious, not on the other hand too light or whimsical, reminds one very much of Temple, and similarly, as Professor Saintsbury has remarked, the solemn tone to which Addison occasionally rises may have been caught from him. Addison's greater variety of effect and his more refined and constant polish do not preclude his having used Temple as a model. Here he has merely improved upon him. But Berkeley, whose prose is essentially of a nobler order, cannot be said to have taken Temple as a model.

Temple's style was in the main that of his time, in the formation of which Dryden was the greatest influence—that early Augustan style which sought primarily not beauty, variety, or even polish, but the clear, precise and correct expression of meaning. No style worthy of the name can

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neglect rhythm, and the prose of Dryden and his contemporaries was by no means unrhythmical. But it was rhythmical for emphasis' sake, and complexity of harmony and sustained height of tone were alien to its expressive purpose, to the French influence that formed it, and to its function of reducing prose utterance to order, so that the Grand Style, for the moment forsaken, might in its later revival find a more finely adapted instrument. In Dryden and his allied contemporaries the only rhythmic device of which much use is made is that of balance and antithesis—a thoroughly practical device designed to emphasise meaning. The clarity that was the main aim of this prose demanded brevity and order in the sentence, and the absence of distracting peculiarities in the style. It seeks to be normal. It is like talk, only more deliberate, more carefully ordered, more careful and consistent in the choice of phrase.

Temple wrote when Dryden's influence upon English prose was dominant, and he was subject to it; but he was original enough to carry the process further. He led the way towards the re-capturing of beauty. His personality imparted to Dryden's form a certain ease and graciousness and dignity that were his own yet foretold the prose of the earlier eighteenth century. Adopting the clear and straightforward utterance of his time, delivered by its influence from the parenthesis, the involution, the lack of order, of earlier prose, he makes of the new style a finer thing than his contemporaries could do. In his hands its stiffness disappears, it gains a new refinement and beauty and reveals itself as a fit setting for innumerable felicities of image and of phrase. The concluding sentence of the essay *Of Poetry* is one of the most famous sentences in English prose. This brief flight is by far Temple's highest; but there are other passages in which his prose has a rhythmic quality transcending the habit of his time.

SIR WILLIAM TEMPLE

(1690)

I AN ESSAY UPON THE ANCIENT AND MODERN LEARNING

WHOEVER Converses much among the Old Books will
be something hard to please among the New, yet
these must have their Part too in the leisure of an idle man,
and have, many of them, then Beauties as well as then
5 Defaults. Those of Story, or Relations of Matter of Fact,
have a value from their Substance as much as from
their Form, and the variety of Events is seldom without
Entertainment or Instruction, how indifferently soever the
Tale is told. Other sorts of Writings have little of esteem
10 but what they receive from the Wit, Learning, or Genius
of the Authors, and are seldom met with of any excellency,
because they do but trace over the Paths that have been
beaten by the Ancients, or Comment, Critick, and Flourish
upon them, and are at best but Copies after those Originals,
15 unless upon Subjects never touched by them, such as are
all that relate to the different Constitutions of Religions,
Laws, or Governments in several Countries, with all mat-
ters of Controversie that arise upon them

Two Pieces that have lately pleased me, abstracted from
20 any of these Subjects, are, one in *English* upon the *Antedi-
luvian* World, and another in *French* upon the *Plurality of
Worlds*; one Writ by a Divine, and the other by a Gentle-
man, but both very finely in their several Kinds and upon

then several Subjects, which would have made very poor work in common hands I was so pleased with the last (I mean the Fashion of it rather than the Matter, which is old and beaten) that I enquired for what else I could of the same hand, till I met with a small Piece concerning Poë-y, which 5 gave me the same exception to both these Authors, whom I should otherwise have been very partial to For the first could not end his Learned Treatise without a Panegyrick of Modern Learning and Knowledge in comparison of the Ancient And the other falls so grossly into the 10 censure of the Old Poetry and preference of the New, that I could not read either of these Strains without some indignation, which no quality among men is so apt to raise in me as sufficiency, the worst composition out of the pride and ignorance of mankind. But these Two, being 15 not the only Persons of the Age that defend these Opinions, it may be worth examining how far either Reason or Experience can be allowed to plead or determine in their favour.

The Force of all that I have met with upon this Subject, 20 either in Talk or Writing is, First, as to Knowledge, That we must have more than the Ancients, because we have the Advantage both of theirs and our own, which is commonly illustrated by the Similitude of a Dwarf standing upon a Gyants shoulders, and seeing more or farther than he 25 Next, as to Wit or Genius, that Nature being still the same, these must be much at a Rate in all Ages, at least in the same Clymates, as the Growth and Size of Plants and Animals commonly are, And if both these are allowed, they think the Cause is gained But I cannot tell why we 30 should conclude that the Ancient Writers had not as much Advantage from the Knowledge of others that were Ancient to them, as we have from those that are Ancient to us. The Invention of Printing has not, perhaps, multiplied

Books, but only the Copies of them, and it we believe there were Six Hundied Thousand in the Library of *Ptolomy*, we shall hardly pretend to equal it by any of ours, nor, perhaps, by all put together, I mean so many Originals
5 that have lived any time, and thereby given Testimony of their having been thought worth preserving For the Scribbles are infinite, that like Mushrooms or Flies are born and dye in small circles of time, whereas Books, like Proverbs, receive their Chief Value from the Stamp and
10 Esteem of Ages through which they have passed. Besides the account of this Library at *Alexandria*, and others very Voluminous in the lesser *Asia* and *Rome*, we have frequent mention of Ancient Writers in many of those Books which we now call Ancient, both Philosophers and Historians.
15 'Tis true that besides what we have in Scripture concerning the Original and Progress of the *Jewish* Nation, all that passed in the rest of our World before the *Trojan* War is either sunk in the depths of time, wrapt up in the mysteries of Fables, or so maimed by the want of Testi-
20 monies and loss of Authors that it appears to us in too obscure a shade to make any Judgment upon it For the Fragments of *Manethon* about the Antiquities of *Egypt*, the Relations in *Justin* concerning the *Scythian* Empire, and many others in *Herodotus* and *Diodorus Siculus*, as
25 well as the Records of *China*, make such Excursions beyond the periods of time given us by the Holy Scriptures that we are not allowed to reason upon them. And this disagreement it self, after so great a part of the World became Christian, may have contributed to the loss of many
30 Ancient Authors For *Solomon* tells us, even in his Time, of Writing many Books there was no end, and whoever considers the Subject and the Style of *Job*, which by many is thought more ancient than *Moses*, will hardly think it was written in an Age or Country that wanted either Books

of Learning, and yet he speaks of the Ancients then, and then Wisdome, as we do now

But if any should so very rashly and presumptuously conclude, That there were few Books before those we have either Extant or upon Record, yet that cannot argue there was no Knowledge or Learning before those periods of time, whereof they give us the short account Books may be helps to Learning and Knowledge, and make it more common and diffused, but I doubt whether they are necessary ones or no, or much advance any other Science beyond the particular Records of Actions or Registers of time, and these, perhaps, might be as long preserved without them, by the care and exactness of Tradition in the long Successions of certain Races of men with whom they were intrusted So in *Mexico* and *Peru*, before the least use or mention of Letters, there was remaining among them the knowledge of what had passed in those mighty Nations and Governments for many Ages Whereas in *Ireland*, that is said to have flourished in Books and Learning before they had much Progress in *Gaul* or *Britany*, there are now hardly any Traces left of what passed there before the Conquest made of that Country by the *English* in *Henry* the Second's Time A strange but plain Demonstration how Knowledge and Ignorance, as well as Civility and Barbarism, may succeed each other in the several Countries of the World, how much better the Records of time may be kept by Tradition in one Country than Writing in another, and how much we owe to those Learned Languages of *Greek* and *Latin*, without which, for ought I know, the World in all these *Western* Parts would hardly be known to have been above five or six Hundred Years old, nor any certainty remain of what passed in it before that time

'Tis true in the *Eastern* Regions, there seems to have been a general Custom of the Priests in each Country

having been either by their own Choice, or by Design of the Governments, the perpetual Conservers of Knowledge and Story Only in *China* this last was committed particularly to certain Officers of State, who were appointed or continued upon every accession to that Crown to Register distinctly the times and memorable Events of each Reign In *Ethiopia, Egypt, Caldea, Persia, Syria, Judea*, these Cases were committed wholly to the Priests, who were not less diligent in the Registers of Times and Actions than in the Study and Successive Propagation thereby of all Natural Science and Philosophy Whether this was managed by Letters, or Tradition, or by both, 'tis certain the Ancient Colledges, or Societies of Priests, were mighty Reservoirs or Lakes of Knowledge, into which some streams entred perhaps every Age from the Observations or Inventions of any great Spirits or transcendent Genius's that happened to rise among them And nothing was lost out of these Stores, since the part of conserving what others have gained, either in Knowledge or Empire, is as common and easy as the other is hard and rare among men

In these Soyls were planted and cultivated those mighty growths of *Astronomy, Astrology, Magic, Geometry, Natural Philosophy*, and Ancient Story From these Sources *Orpheus, Homer, Lycurgus, Pythagoras, Plato*, and others of the Ancients are acknowledged to have drawn all those Depths of Knowledge or Learning which have made them so Renowned in all succeeding Ages I make a Distinction between these Two, taking Knowledge to be properly meant of things that are generally agreed to be true by Consent of those that first found them out or have been since instructed in them, but Learning is the Knowledge of the different and contested Opinions of men in former Ages, and about which they have perhaps never agreed in any, and this makes so much of one and so little of the other in the World.

Now to judge, Whether the Ancients or Moderns can be probably thought to have made the greatest Progress in the Search and Discoveries of the vast Region of Truth and Nature, it will be worth inquiring, What Guides have been used, and what Labours employ'd, by the one and the other in these Noble Travels and Pursuits

The Modern Scholars have their usual Recourse to the Universities of their Countries, some few, it may be, to those of their Neighbours, and this in quest of Books rather than Men for their Guides, though these are living 10 and those in comparison but dead Instructors, which, like a Hand with an Inscription, can point out the straight way upon the Road, but can neither tell you the next Turnings, resolve your Doubts, or answer your Questions, like a Guide that has traced it over, and perhaps knows it as well 15 as his Chamber. And who are these dead Guides we seek in our Journey? They are at best but some few Authors that remain among us of a great many that wrote in Greek and Latine from the Age of *Hypocrates* to that of *Marcus Antoninus*, which reaches not much above Six Hundred 20 Years. Before that time I know none, besides some Poets, some Fables, and some few Epistles, and since that time I know very few that can pretend to be Authors, rather than Transcribers or Commentators of the Ancient Learning. Now, to consider at what Sources our Ancients drew 25 their Water, and with what unwearied Pains, 'Tis evident *Thales* and *Pythagoras* were the Two Founders of the *Grecian* Philosophy the First gave Beginning to the *Ionick* Sect and the other to the *Itallick*, out of which all the others celebrated in *Greece* or *Rome* were derived or 30 composed. *Thales* was the First of the *Sophi*, or Wise men, Famous in *Greece*, and is said to have learned his *Astronomy*, *Geometry*, *Astrology*, *Theology*, in his Travels from his Country, *Miletus*, to *Aegypt*, *Phænicia*, *Crete*, and

Delphos *Pythagoras* was the Father of Philosophers and of the Vertues, having in Modesty chosen the Name of a Lover of Wisdom rather than of Wise, and having first introduced the Names of the Four Cardinal Vertues, and given them the Place and Rank they have held ever since in the World Of these Two Mighty men remain no Writings at all, for those Golden Verses that go under the Name of *Pythagoras* are generally rejected as spurious, like many other Fragments of *Sybls* or Old Poets, and some entire Poems that run with Ancient Names Nor is it agreed, Whether he ever left any thing written to his Scholars or Contemporaries or whether all that learn't of him did it not by the Ear and Memory, and all that remained of him for some succeeding Ages were not by Tradition But whether these ever writ or no, they were the Fountains out of which the following *Greek* Philosophers drew all those Streams that have since watered the Studies of the Learned World, and furnished the Voluminous Writings of so many Sects as passed afterwards under the common Name of Philosophers

As there were Guides to those that we call Ancients, so there were others that were Guides to them, in whose Search they travelled far and laboured long

There is nothing more agreed than, That all the Learning of the *Greeks* was deduced Originally from *Egypt* or *Phœnicia*, but, Whether thence might not have flourished to that Degree it did by the Commerce of the *Ethiopians*, *Chaldeans*, *Arabians*, and *Indians* is not so evident, though I am very apt to believe it, and to most of these Regions some of the *Greeks* travelled in Search of those Golden Mines of Learning and Knowledge Not to mention the Voyages of *Orpheus*, *Musæus*, *Iycurgus*, *Thales*, *Solon*, *Democritus*, *Herodotus*, *Plato*, and that vain Sophist, *Apollonius*, who was but an Ape of the Ancient Philo-

sophers, I shall only trace those of *Pythagoras*, who seems of all others to have gone the farthest upon this Design, and to have brought home the greatest Treasures He went first to *Egypt*, where he spent Two and Twenty Years in Study and Conversation among the several Colledges of Priests in *Memphas*, *Thebes*, and *Heliopolis*, (and) was initiated in all their several Mysteries, in order to gain Admittance and Instruction in the Learning and Sciences that were there in their highest Ascendent Twelve Years he spent in *Babylon* and in the Studies and Learning of the Priests or *Magi* of the *Chaldeans* Besides these long abodes, in those Two Regions, celebrated for ancient Learning, and where one Author, according to their Calculations, says, He gained the Observations of innumerable Ages, He Travelled likewise upon the same sent in *Æthiopia*, *Arabia*, *India*, to *Crete*, to *Delphos*, and to all the Oracles that were Renowned in any of these Regions

What sort of Mortals some of those may have been that he went so far to seek, I shall only endeavour to Trace out by the most ancient Accounts that are given of the *Indian Brachmans*, since those of the Learned or Sages in the other Countries occur more frequent in Story These were all of one Race or Tribe, that was kept chaste from any other mixture, and were dedicated wholly to the Service of the Gods, to the Studies of Wisdom and Nature, and to the Council of their Princes There was not only particular care taken of their Birth and Nurture, but even from their Conception For when a Woman among them was known to have Conceived, much thought and diligence was employed about her Diet and Entertainments, so far as to furnish her with pleasant imaginations, to compose her mind and her sleeps with the best temper during the time she carried her Burthen This I take to

be a strain beyond all the *Grecian* Wit, or the Constitutions even of their imaginary Law-givers, who began their cares of Mankind only after their Birth, and none before. Those of the *Brachmans* continued in the same Degree for their
5 Education and Instruction, in which, and then Studies and Discipline of their Colledges, or separate abodes in Woods and Fields, they spent Thirty Seven Years. Their Learning and Institutions were unwritten, and only traditional among themselves by a perpetual Succession. Then
10 Opinions in Natural Philosophy were, That the World was round, That it had a Beginning and would have an end, but reckoned both by immense periods of time, That the Author of it was a Spirit or a Mind that pervaded the whole Universe and was diffused through
15 all the Parts of it. They held the Transmigration of Souls, and some used discourses of Infernal Mansions, in many things like those of *Plato*. Then Moral Philosophy consisted chiefly in preventing all Diseases or Distempers of the Body, from which they esteemed the perturbation of
20 mind in a great measure to arise. Then in composing the Mind, and exempting it from all anxious Cares, esteeming the troublesome and solicitous thoughts about Past and Future to be like so many Dreams, and no more to be regarded. They despised both life and death, pleasure
25 and pain, or at least thought them perfectly indifferent. Their Justice was exact and exemplary, their Temperance so great that they lived upon Rice or Herbs, and upon nothing that had sensitive Life. If they fell sick, they counted it such a Mark of Intemperance that they would
30 frequently dye out of Shame and Sullenness, but many lived a Hundred and Fifty, and some Two Hundred Years.

Their Wisdom was so highly esteemed that some of them were always employed to follow the Courts of their

Kings, to advise them upon all Occasions, and instruct them in Justice and Piety, and upon this Regard *Calanus* and some others are said to have followed the Camp of *Alexander* after his Conquest of one of their Kings. The Magical Operations reported of them are so wonderful, that they must either be wholly disbelieved, or will make easie way for the credit of all those that we so often meet with in the later Relations of the *Indies*. Above all the rest, their Fortitude was most admirable in their Patience and Endurance of all Evils, of Pain, and of Death, some standing, sitting, lying, without any Motion, whole dayes together in the scorching Sun, others standing whole nights upon one Leg, and holding up a heavy piece of Wood or Stone in both hands without ever moving, which might be done upon some sort of Penances usual among them. They frequently ended their Lives by their own Choice and not necessity, and most usually by Fire, some upon Sickness, others upon Misfortunes, some upon meer satiety of Life, so *Calanus*, in *Alexander's* time, burn't himself publickly upon growing old and infirm, *Zornano-chages*, in the time of *Augustus*, upon his constant Health and Felicity, and to prevent his living so long as to fall into Diseases or Misfortunes. These were the *Brachmans* of *India*, by the most Ancient Relations remaining of them, and which, Compared with our Modern, since Navigation and Trade have discovered so much of those vast Countries, make it easie to conjecture that the present *Banians* have derived from them many of their Customs and Opinions, which are still very like them after the course of Two Thousand Years. For how long Nations, without the Changes introduced by Conquest, may continue in the same Customs, Institutions, and Opinions, will be easily observed in the Stories of the *Peruvians* and *Mexicans*, of the *Chinenses* and *Scythians*. These last being described by *Herodotus* to

lodge always in Carts, and to feed commonly upon the Milk of Maes, as the *Tartars* are reported to do at this time in many Parts of those Vast Northern Regions.

From these Famous *Indians* it seems to me most probable
5 that *Pythagoras* learn't, and transported into *Greece* and
Italy the greatest part of his Natural and Moral Philosophy,
rather than from the *Ægyptians*, as is commonly supposed,
For I have not observed any mention of the Transmigration
of Souls held among the *Ægyptians* more ancient than the
10 time of *Pythagoras* On the contrary, *Orpheus* is said to
have brought out of *Egypt* all his Mystical Theology, with
the Stories of the *Stygran* Lake, *Charon*, the Infernal
Judges, which were wrought up by the succeeding Poets
(with a Mixture of the *Cretan* Tales or Traditions) into that
15 part of the *Pagan* Religion so long observed by the *Greeks*
and *Romans* Now, 'tis obvious that this was in all parts
very different from the *Pythagorean* Opinion of Transmi-
gration, which though it was preserved long among some
of the succeeding Philosophers, yet never entered into the
20 vulgar Belief of *Greece* or *Italy*

Nor does it seem unlikely that the *Ægyptians* themselves
might have drawn much of their Learning from the *Indians*,
for they are observed in some Authors to have done it from
the *Æthiopians*, and Chronologists, I think, agree that
25 these were a Colony that came anciently from the River
Indus, and planted themselves upon that Part of *Africa*
which from their Name was afterwards called *Æthiopia*, and
in probability brought their Learning and their Customs
with them. The *Phœnicians* are likewise said to have been
30 anciently a Colony that came from the *Red Sea*, and planted
themselves upon the *Mediterranean*, and from thence spread
so far the Fame of their Learning and their Navigations

To strengthen this Conjecture of much Learning being
derived from such remote and ancient Fountains as the

Indies and perhaps *China*, it may be asserted with great Evidence that, though we know little of the Antiquities of *India* beyond *Alexander's* time, yet those of *China* are the oldest that any where pretend to any *San* Records For these are agreed by the Missionary Jesuits to extend so far above Four Thousand Years, and with such Appearance of clear and undeniable Testimonies, that those Religious Men themselves, rather than question their Truth by finding them contrary to the vulgar Chronology of the Scripture, are content to have recourse to that of the *Septuagint*, and thereby to salve the Appearances in those Records of the *Chineses*. Now though we have been deprived the knowledge of what Course Learning may have held, and to what heights it may have soared, in that vast Region, and during so great Antiquity of time, by reason of the Savage Ambition of one of their Kings, who, desirous to begin the Period of History from his own Reign, ordered all Books to be burnt, except those of Physick and Agriculture,—so that what we have remaining besides of that wise and ancient Nation is but what was either by chance or by private Industry rescued out of that publick Calamity, among which were a Copy of the Records and Successions of the Crown,—yet it is observable and agreed that, as the Opinions of the Learned among them are at present, so they were anciently divided into two Sects, whereof one held the Transmigration of Souls, and the other the Eternity of Matter, comparing the World to a great Mass of Metal out of which some Parts are continually made up into a Thousand various Figures, and after certain Periods melted down again into the same Mass That there were many Volumes written of old in Natural Philosophy among them That near the Age of *Socrates* lived their Great and Renowned *Confutius* who began the same Design of reclaiming men from the useless and endless Speculations

of Nature to those of Morality But with this Difference, that the Bent of the *Grecian* seemed to be chiefly upon the Happiness of private Men or Families, but that of the *Chinese* upon the good Temperament and Felicity of such Kingdoms or Governments as that was, and is known to have continued for several Thousands of Years, and may be properly called a Government of Learned men, since no other are admitted into Charges of the State

For my own part, I am much inclined to believe that, in these Remote Regions, not only *Pythagoras* learn'd the first Principles both of his Natural and Moral Philosophy, but that those of *Democritus*, who Travelled into *Ægypt*, *Caldea*, and *India*, and whose Doctrines were after improved by *Epicurus*, might have been derived from the same Fountains, and that long before them both *Lycurgus*, who likewise Travelled into *India*, brought from thence also the Chief Principles of his Laws and Politicks, so much Renowned in the World

For whoever observes the Account already given of the Ancient *Indian* and *Chinese* Learning and Opinions will easily find among them the Seeds of all these *Grecian* Productions and Institutions As the Transmigration of Souls and the four Cardinal Vertues, The long Silence enjoyned his Scholars, and Propagation of their Doctrines by Tradition rather than Letters, and Abstinence from all Meats that had Animal Life, introduced by *Pythagoras*, The Eternity of Matter, with perpetual changes of Form, the Indolence of Body, and Tranquility of Mind, by *Epicurus*, And among those of *Lycurgus*, the care of Education from the Birth of Children, the Austere Temperance of Diet, the patient endurance of Toil and Pain, the neglect or contempt of Life, the use of Gold and Silver only in their Temples, the Defence of Commerce with Strangers, and several others, by him established among the

Spartans, seem all to be wholly *Indian*, and different from any Race or Vein of Thought and Imagination that have ever appeared in *Greece*, either in that Age or any since

It may look like a Paradox to deduce Learning from Regions accounted commonly so barbarous and rude 5 And 'tis true the generality of People were always so in those *Eastern* Countries, and their lives wholly turned to Agriculture, to Mechanics, or to Trades, but this does not hinder particular Races or Successions of Men, the design of whose thought and time was turned wholly to 10 Learning and Knowledge, from having been what they are represented and what they deserve to be esteemed, since among the *Gauls*, the *Goths*, and the *Peruvians* themselves, there have been such Races of Men under the Names of *Druids*, *Bards*, *Amanutas*, *Runers*, and other barbarous 15 Appellations

Besides, I know no Circumstances like to Contribute more to the advancement of Knowledge and Learning among men than exact Temperance in their Races, great pureness of Air, and equality of Climate, long Tranquility 20 of Empire or Government And all these we may justly allow to those *Eastern* Regions more than any others we are acquainted with, at least till the Conquests made by the *Tartars* upon both *India* and *China* in the later Centuries However, it may be as pardonable to derive some Parts of 25 Learning from thence as to go so far for the Game of *Chess*, which some Curious and Learned men have deduced from *India* into *Europe* by Two several Roads, that is, by *Persia* into *Greece*, and by *Arabia* into *Africk* and *Spain*

Thus much I thought might be allowed me to say, for 30 the giving some Ideas of what those Sages or Learned Men were, or may have been, who were Ancients to those that are Ancients to us. Now to observe what these have been is more easy and obvious. The most ancient *Grecians* that

we are at all acquainted with after *Lycurgus*, who was certainly a great Philosopher as well as Law-giver, were the seven Sages. Tho' the Court of *Craesus* is said to have been much resorted to by the Sophists of *Greece*, in the
5 happy beginnings of his Reign. And some of these seven seem to have brought most of the Sciences out of *Aegypt* and *Phoenicia* into *Greece*, particularly those of *Astronomy*, *Astrology*, *Geometry*, and *Arithmetick*. These were soon followed by *Pythagoras*, who seems to have introduced
10 Natural and Moral Philosophy, and by several of his Followers, both in *Greece* and *Italy*. But of all these there remains nothing in Writing now among us, so that *Hippocrates*, *Plato*, and *Xenophon* are the first *Philosophers* whose works have escaped the injuries of time. But that we may
15 not conclude the first Writers we have of the *Greeks* were the first Learned or Wise among them, we shall find upon inquiry that the more ancient Sages of *Greece* appear, by the Characters remaining of them, to have been much the greater Men. They were generally Princes or Law-
20 givers of their Countries, or at least offered and invited to be so, either of their own or of others, that desired them to frame or reform their several Institutions of Civil Government. They were commonly excellent Poets and great Physicians, they were so learned in Natural Philoso-
25 phy that they fore-told not only Eclipses in the Heavens, but Earthquakes at Land and Storms at Sea, great Drowths and great Plagues, much Plenty or much Scarcity of certain sorts of Fruits or Grain, not to mention the Magical Powers attributed to several of them to allay Storms, to
30 raise Gales, to appease Commotions of People, to make Plagues cease,—which qualities, whether upon any ground of Truth or no, yet if well believed must have raised them to that strange height they were at, of common esteem and honour, in their own and succeeding Ages.

By all this may be determined whether our Moderns or our Ancients may have had the greater and the better Guides, and which of them have taken the greater pains, and with the more application in the pursuit of Knowledge. And I think it is enough to shew that the advantage we have from those we call the Ancients may not be greater than what they had from those that were so to them.

But after all, I do not know whether the high flights of Wit and Knowledge, like those of Power and of Empire in the World, may not have been made by the pure Native Force of Spirit or Genius in some single men, rather than by any derived strength among them, however encreased by Succession, and whether they may not have been the Achievements of Nature, rather than the improvements of Art. Thus the Conquests of *Ninus* and *Semiramis*, of *Alexander* and *Tamerlane*, which I take to have been the greatest Recorded in Story, were at their height in those Persons that began them, and so far from being encreased by their Successors that they were not preserved in their extent and vigour by any of them, grew weaker in every hand they passed through, or were divided into many that set up for great Princes out of several small ruins of the First Empires, till they withered away in time, or were lost by the change of Names and Forms of Families or of Governments.

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Just the same Fate seems to have attended the highest flights of Learning and of Knowledge that are upon our Registers. *Thales*, *Pythagoras*, *Democritus*, *Hippocrates*, *Plato*, *Aristotle*, *Epicurus* were the first mighty Conquerors of Ignorance in our World, and made greater progresses in the several Empires of Science than any of their Successors have been since able to reach. These have hardly ever pretended more than to learn what the others taught, to remember what they invented, and not able to compass

that it self, they have set up for Authors upon some parcels of those great Stocks, or else have contented themselves only to comment upon those Texts, and make the best Copies they could after those Originals

I have long thought that the different abilities of Men, which we call Wisdom or Prudence, for the conduct of Publick Affairs or Private Life, grow directly out of that little grain of Intellect or Good Sense which they bring with them into the World, and that the defect of it in 10 Men comes from some want in their Conception or Birth

—*Nequitur semel Natusque Author,*
Quicquid scribit habet —

And though this may be improved or impaired in some degree by accidents of Education, of Study, and of Conversation or Business, yet it cannot go beyond the reach of 15 its Native Force, no more than Life can beyond the period to which it was destined by the strength or weakness of the seminal Virtue

If these speculations should be true, then I know not 20 what advantages we can pretend to modern Knowledge, by any we receive from the Ancients. Nay, 'tis possible men may lose rather than gain by them, may lessen the Force and Growth of their own Genius by constraining and forming it upon that of others, may have less Knowledge of 25 their own for contenting themselves with that of those before them. So a Man that only Translates shall never be a Poet, nor a Painter that only Copies, nor a Swimmer that Swims always with Bladders. So People that trust wholly to others Charity, and without Industry of their 30 own, will be always poor. Besides, who can tell whether Learning may not even weaken Invention in a man that has great Advantages from Nature and Birth, whether the weight and number of so many other mens thoughts and notions may not suppress his own, or hinder the motion and

agitation of them from which all Invention arises. As heap-
 ing on Wood, or too many Sticks, or too close together,
 suppresses and sometimes quite extinguishes a little spark
 that would otherwise have grown up to a noble Flame.
 The strength of mind as well as of body grows more from
 the warmth of Exercise than of Cloaths, nay too much of
 this Foreign heat rather makes Men faint, and then Consti-
 tutions tender or weaker than they would be without them.
 Let it come about how it will, if we are Dwarfs, we are
 still so, though we stand upon a Gyant's shoulders, and even so
 so placed, yet we see less than he, if we are naturally
 shorter sighted, or if we do not look as much about us, or
 if we are dazzled with the height, which often happens from
 weakness either of Heart or Brain.

In the growth and stature of Souls as well as Bodies, the
 common productions are of indifferent size, that occasion no
 gazing nor no wonder. But (tho') there are or have been
 sometimes Dwails and sometimes Gyants in the World, yet
 it does not follow that there must be such in every Age nor
 in every Country. This we can no more conclude than that
 there never have been any, because there are none now, at
 least in the compass of our present Knowledge or Inquiry.
 As I believe there may have been Gyants at one time and
 some place or other in the World, of such a stature as may
 not have been equalled perhaps again in several thousands
 of Years or in any other Parts, so there may be Gyants in
 Wit and Knowledge, of so over-grown a size as not to be
 equalled again in many succession of Ages or any compass of
 Place or Country. Such, I am sure, *Lucretius* esteems and
 describes *Epicurus* to have been, and to have risen like a
 Prodigy of Invention and Knowledge, such as had not been
 before nor was like to be again and I know not why others
 of the Ancients may not be allowed to have been as great
 in their kinds, and to have built as high, though upon

different Schemes or Foundations Because there is a Stag's head at *Amboise* of a most prodigious size, and a large Table at *Memorancy* cut out of the thickness of a Vine-stock, is it necessary that there must be every Age such a Stag in
 5 every great Forest or such a Vine in every large Vineyard, or that the Productions of Nature in any kind must be still alike, or something near it, because Nature is still the same? May there not many circumstances concur to one production that do not to any other in one or many Ages?
 10 In the growth of a Tree, there is the native strength of the seed, both from the kind and from the perfection of its ripening, and from the health and vigour of the Plant that bore it There is the degree of strength and excellence in that Vein of Earth where it first took root, There is a
 15 propriety of Soil, suited to the kind of Tree that grows in it, there is a great favour or disfavour to its growth from accidents of Water and of Shelter, from the kindness or unkindness of Seasons, till it be past the need or the danger of them All these, and perhaps many others, joyned with the
 20 propitiousness of Clymat to that sort of Tree, and the length of Age it shall stand and grow, may produce an Oak, a Fig, or a Plane-tree, that shall deserve to be renowned in Story, and shall not perhaps be parallel'd in other Countys or Times

May not the same have happened in the production,
 25 growth, and size of Wit and Genius in the World, or in some Parts or Ages of it, and from many more circumstances that contributed towards it than what may concur to the stupendious growth of a Tree or Animal? May there not have been, in *Greece* or *Italy* of old, such prodigies of Inven-
 30 tion and Learning in *Philosophy*, *Mathematicks*, *Physick*, *Oratory*, *Poetry*, that none has ever since approached them, as well as there were in *Painting*, *Statuary*, *Architecture*, and yet then unparallel'd and imitable excellencies in these are undisputed?

Science and arts have run their circles, and had their periods in the several Parts of the World. They are generally agreed to have held their course from *East* to *West*, to have begun in *Chaldaea* and *Egypt*, to have been Transplanted from thence to *Greece*, from *Greece* to *Rome*, 5 to have sunk there, and after many Ages to have revived from those Ashes, and to have sprung up again, both in *Italy* and other more *Western* Provinces of *Europe*. When *Chaldaea* and *Egypt* were Learned and Civil, *Greece* and *Rome* were as rude and barbarous as all *Egypt* and *Syria* 10 now are and have been long. When *Greece* and *Rome* were at their heights in Arts and Science, *Gaul*, *Germany*, *Britain* were as ignorant and barbarous as any Parts of *Greece* or *Turkey* can be now.

These and greater changes are made in the several 15 Countries of the World and courses of time by the Revolutions of Empire, the Devastations of Armies, the Cruelties of Conquering, and the Calamities of enslaved Nations, by the violent inundations of Water in some Countries, and the Cruel Ravages of Plagues in others. These sorts of 20 accidents sometimes lay them so waste that, when they rise again, 'tis from such low beginnings that they look like New-Created Regions, or growing out of the Original State of Mankind, and without any Records or Remembrances beyond certain short periods of time. Thus 25 that vast Continent of *Norway* is said to have been so wholly desolated by a Plague about Eight or Nine Hundred Years ago, that it was for some Ages following a very Desert, and since all over-grown with Wood; And *Ireland* was so spoiled and wasted by the Conquests of the *Scutes* and *Danes*, that 30 there hardly remains any Story or Tradition what that Island was, how Planted or Governed, above Five Hundred Years ago. What changes have been made by Violent Storms and Inundations of the Sea in the Maritime Provinces of

the *Low-Country* is hard to know, or to believe what is told, nor how ignorant they have left us of all that passed there before a certain and short period of time

The Accounts of many other Countries would, perhaps, 5 as hardly and as late have waded out of the Depths of Time and Gulphs of Ignorance, had it not been for the Assistance of those two Languages to which we owe all we have of Learning or Ancient Records in the World For whether we have any thing of the Old *Chaldean*, 10 *Hebrew*, *Arabian* that is truly Genuine, or more Ancient than the *Augustan* Age, I am much in doubt, yet 'tis probable the vast *Alexandrian* Library must have chiefly consisted of Books composed in those Languages, with the *Egyptian*, *Syrian*, and *Æthiopic*, or at least Trans- 15 lated out of them by the Care of the *Ægyptian* Kings or Priests, as the *Old Testament* was, wherein the *Septuagints* employed left their Name to that Famous Translation

'Tis very true and just, All that is said of the mighty Progress that Learning and Knowledge have made in 20 these *Western* Parts of *Europe* within these hundred and fifty Years, but that does not conclude it must be at greater Height than it had been in other Countries, where it was growing much longer Periods of Time, it argues more how low it was then amongst us rather than how high it is now 25 Upon the Fall of the *Roman* Empire, almost all Learning was buried in its Ruines The *Northern* Nations that Conquered, or rather overwhelmed it by their Numbers, were too barbarous to preserve the Remains of Learning or Civility more carefully than they did those of Statuary 30 or Architecture, which fell before their British Rage The *Saracens*, indeed, from their Conquests of *Ægypt*, *Syria*, and *Greece* carried home great Spoils of Learning as well as other Riches, and gave the Original of all the Knowledge which flourished for some time among the

tians, and has since been copied out of many Authors among them, as theirs had been out of those of the Countries they had subdued; nor, indeed, do Learning, Civility, Morality seem any where to have made a greater Growth in so short a Time than in that Empire, nor to have flourished more than in the Reign of their Great *Almanzor*, under whose Victorious Ensigns *Spain* was Conquered by the *Moors*; but the *Goths*, and all the rest of those *Scythian* Swarms that from beyond the *Danube* and the *Elb*, under so many several Names, over-run all *Europe*, took very hardly and very late any Tincture of the Learning and Humanity that had flourished in the several Regions of it, under the Protection and by the Example and Instructions of the *Romans* that had so long possessed them. Those *Northern Nations* were indeed easier induced to embrace the Religion of those they had subdued, and by their Devotion gave great Authority and Revenues and thereby Ease to the Clergy, both Secular and Regular, through all their Conquests. Great Numbers of the better sort among the Oppressed Natives, finding this vein among them, and no other way to be safe and quiet under such rough Masters, betook themselves to the Profession and Assemblies of Religious Orders and Fraternities, and among those onely were preserved all the poor Remains of Learning in these several Countries.

25.

But these good men either contented themselves with their Devotion or with the Ease of quiet Lives, or else employed their Thoughts and Studies to raise and maintain the Esteem and Authority of that Sacred Order to which they owed the Safety and Repose, the Wealth and Honour they enjoyed. And in this they so well succeeded, that the Conquerors were governed by those they had subdued, the Greatest Princes by the Meanest Priests, and the Victorious *Franks* and *Lombard* Kings fell at the feet of the *Roman* Prelates.

Whilst the Clergy were busied in these Thought- or Studies, the better sort among the Laity were wholly turned to Arms and to Honour, the meaner sort to Labour or to Spoil, Princes taken up with Wars among themselves, 5 or in those of the Holy Land, or between the Popes and Emperors, upon Disputes of the Ecclesiastical and Secular Powers. Learning so little in use among them that few could write or read, besides those of the Long Robes. During this Course of Time, which lasted many Ages in the 10 Western Parts of Europe, The *Greek* Tongue was wholly lost, and the Purity of the *Roman* to that degree that what remained of it was onely a certain Jargon rather than Latin, that passed among the *Monks* and *Friars* who were at all Learned, and among the Students of the several 15 Universities, which served to call them to *Rome* in pursuit of Preferments or Causes depending there, and little else.

When the *Turks* took *Constantinople* about two hundred Years ago, and soon after possessed themselves of all *Greece*, the poor Natives, fearing the Tyranny of those cruel 20 Masters, made then Escapes in great Numbers to the Neighbouring parts of Christendom, some by the *Austrian* Territories into *Germany*, others by the *Venetian* into *Italy* and *France*, several that were Learned among these *Greeks*, and brought many Ancient Books with them in that 25 Language, began to teach it in these Countries, first to gain Subsistence, and afterwards Favour in some Princes or Great mens Courts, who began to take a Pleasure or Pride in countenancing Learned men. Thus began the Restoration of Learning in these Parts with that of the *Greek* Tongue; 30 and soon after, *Reuchlyn* and *Erasmus* began that of the puer and ancient Latin. After them *Buchanan* carried it, I think, to the greatest Height of any of the Moderns before or since. The *Monkish* Latin, upon this Return, was laughed out of doors, and remains only in the Inns of

Germany or *Poland*, and with the Restitution of these two Noble Languages and the Books remaining of them, which many Princes and Prelates were curious to recover and collect, Learning of all sorts began to thrive in these *Western* Regions, and since that time, and in the first succeeding Century, made perhaps a greater growth than in any other that we know of in such a compass of Time, considering into what Depths of Ignorance it was sunk before.

But why from thence should be concluded, That it has out-grown all that was Ancient, I see no Reason. If a 10 Strong and Vigorous man at Thirty Years old should fall into a Consumption, and so draw on till Fifty in the extreme Weakness and Infirmary, after that should begin to Recover Health till Sixty, so as to be again as Strong as men usually are at that Age, It might perhaps truly be 15 said in that case that he had grown more in Strength than last Ten Years than any others of his Life, but not that he was grown to more Strength and Vigour than he had at Thirty Years old.

But what are the Sciences wherein we pretend to excel? 20 I know of no New Philosophers that have made Entries upon that Noble Stage for Fifteen Hundred Years past, unless *Des Cartes* and *Hobbs* should pretend to it, of whom I shall make no Critick here, but only say, That by what appears of Learned Mens Opinions in this Age, they have 25 by no means eclipsed the Lustre of *Plato*, *Aristotle*, *Epicurus*, or others of the Ancients. For Grammar or Rhetorick, no man ever disputed it with them, nor for Poetry, that ever I heard of, besides the New *French* Author I have mentioned, and against whose Opinion there could, 30 I think, never have been given stronger Evidence than by his own Poems, Printed together with that Treatise.

There is nothing new in *Astronomy* to vie with the Ancients, unless it be the *Copernican* System, nor in

Physick, unless *Henry's* Circulation of the blood But whether either of these be modern discoveries, or derived from old Fountains is disputed Nay, it is so, too, whether they are true or no, for though reason may seem to favour
5 them more than the contrary Opinion, yet sense can very hardly allow them, and to satisfy Mankind, both these must concur But if they are true, yet these two great discoveries have made no change in the conclusions of *Astronomy*, nor in the practise of *Physick*, and so have been
10 of little use to the World, though perhaps of much honour to the Authors

What are become of the Charms of Music, by which Men and Beasts, Fishes, Fowls, and Serpents were so frequently Enchanted, and then very Natures changed, By which the
15 Passions of men were raised to the greatest height and violence, and then as suddenly appeased, so as they might be justly said to be turned into Lyons or Lambs, into Wolves or into Harts, by the Power and Charms of this admirable Art? 'Tis agreed by the Learned that the Science of Music, so
20 admired of the Ancients, is wholly lost in the World, and that what we have now is made up out of certain Notes that fell into the fancy or observation of a poor *Fryar* in chanting his Mattins So as those Two Divine Excellencies of Music and Poetry are grown in a manner to be little more, but
25 the one Fiddling, and the other Rhyming, and are indeed very worthy the ignorance of the *Fryer* and the barbarousness of the *Goths* that introduced them among us

What have we remaining of *Magick*, by which the *Indians* the *Chaldeans*, the *Agyptians* were so renowned, and by
30 which effects so wonderful and to common men so astonishing were produced, as made them have recourse to Spirits or Supernatural Powers for some account of their strange Operations? By *Magick* I mean some excelling knowledge of Nature and the various Powers and Qualities in its

several productions, and the application of certain Agents to certain Patients, which by force of some peculiar qualities produce effects very different from what fall under vulgar Observation or Comprehension. These are by ignorant People called *Magick* and *Conjuring*, and such like Terms, and an Account of them much about as wise is given by the common Learned, from *Sympathies*, *Antipathies*, *Idiosyncrasy*s, *Talismans*, and some scraps or Terms left us by the *Ægyptians* or *Grecians* of the Ancient *Magick*; but the Science seems, with several others, to be wholly lost.

What Traces have we left of that admirable Science or Skill in Architecture, by which such stupendious Fabricks have been raised of old and so many of the Wonders of the World been produced, and which are so little approached by our Modern Atchievements of this sort, that they hardly fall within our Imagination? Not to mention the Walls and Palace of *Babylon*, the Pyramids of *Egypt*, the Tomb of *Mansolus*, or *Collosse* of *Rhodes*, the Temples and Palaces of *Greece* and *Rome*: What can be more admirable in this kind than the *Roman* Theatres, their Aqueducts, and their Bridges, among which that of *Trajan* over the *Danube* seems to have been the last Flight of the Ancient Architecture? The stupendious Effects of this Science sufficiently evince at what Heights the Mathematicks were among the Ancients; but if this be not enough, who-ever would be satisfied need go no further than the Siege of *Syracuse*, and that mighty Defence made against the *Roman* Power, more by the wonderful Science and Arts of *Archimedes*, and almost Magical Force of his Engines, than by all the Strength of the City, or Number and Bravery of the Inhabitants.

The greatest Invention that I know of in later Ages has been that of the Load-Stone, and consequently the greatest Improvement has been made in the Art of Navigation; yet

there must be allowed to have been something stupendious in the Numbers and in the Built of their Ships and Gallies of old, and the Skill of Pylots, from the Observation of the Stars in the more Serene Climates, may be judged by the Navigations, so celebrated in Story, of the *Tyrans* and *Carthaginians*, not to mention other Nations. However, 'tis to this we owe the Discovery and Commerce of so many vast Countries which were very little if at all known to the Ancients, and the experimental Proof of this Terrestrial Globe, which was before only Speculation, but has since been surrounded by the Fortune and Boldness of several Navigators. From this great though fortuitous Invention, and the consequence thereof, it must be allowed that Geography is mightily advanced in these latter Ages. The Vast Continents of *China*, the *East* and *West Indies*, the long Extent and Coasts of *Africa*, with the numberless Islands belonging to them, have been hereby introduced into our Acquaintance and our Maps, and great Increases of Wealth and Luxury, but none of Knowledge, brought among us, further than the Extent and situation of Country, the customs and manners of so many original Nations, which we call Barbarous, and I am sure have treated them as if we hardly esteem them to be a part of Mankind. I do not doubt but many Great and more Noble Uses would have been made of such Conquests or Discoveries, if they had fallen to the share of the *Greeks* and *Romans* in those Ages when Knowledge and Fame were in as great Request as endless Gains and Wealth are among us now, and how much greater Discoveries might have been made by such Spirits as theirs is hard to guess. I am sure ours, though great, yet look very imperfect, as to what the Face of this Terrestrial Globe would probably appear, if they had been pursued as far as we might justly have expected from the Progresses of Navigation since the Use of the Compass.

which seems to have been long at a stand How little has been performed of what has been so often and so confidently promised of a *North-West Passage* to the *East of Tartary* and *North of China*! How little do we know of the Land on that side of the *Magellan Straits* that lie towards the *South Pole*, which may be vast Islands or Continents for ought any can yet aver, though that Passage was so long since found out! Whether *Japan* be Island or Continent, with some Parts of *Tartary* on the *North* side, is not certainly agreed The Lands of *Yedso* upon the *North-East* 19 Continent have been no more than Coasted, and whether they may not joyn to the *Northern* Continent of *America* is by some doubted.

But the Defect or Negligence seems yet to have been greater towards the *South*, where we know little beyond 15 Thirty Five Degrees, and that only by the Necessity of doubling the Cape of *Goodhope* in our *East-India* Voyages, yet a Continent has been long since found out within Fifteen Degrees to *South*, and about the Length of *Java*, which is marked by the Name of *New Holland* in the Maps, and 20 to what Extent none knows, either to the *South*, the *East*, or the *West*, yet the Learned have been of Opinion, That there must be a Ballance of Earth on that side of the Line, in some Proportion to what there is on the other, and that it cannot be all *Sea* from Thirty Degrees to the *South-Pole*, 25 since we have found Land to above Sixty Degrees towards the *North* But our Navigators that way have been confined to the Roads of Trade, and our Discoveries bounded by what we can manage to a certain Degree of Gain And I have heard it said among the *Dutch* that their *East-India*-30 Company have long since forbidden, and under the greatest Penalties, any further Attempts of discovering that Continent, having already more Trade in those Parts than they can turn to Account, and fearing some more Populous

Nation of *Europe* might make great Establishments of Trade in some of those unknown Regions which might ruin or impair what they have already in the *Indies*.

Thus we are lame still in Geography it self, which we might have expected to run up to so much greater Perfection by the Use of the Compass, and it seems to have been little advanced these last Hundred Years. So far have we been from improving upon those Advantages we have received from the Knowledge of the Ancients, that since the late Restoration of Learning and Arts among us, our first Flights seem to have been the highest, and a sudden Damp to have fallen upon our Wings, which has hindered us from rising above certain Heights. The Arts of Painting and Statuary began to revive with Learning in *Europe*, and made a great but short Flight, so as for these last Hundred Years we have not had One Master in either of them who deserved a Rank with those that flourished in that short Period after they began among us.

It were too great a Mortification to think, That the same Fate has happened to us, even in our Modern Learning, as if the Growth of that, as well as of Natural Bodies, had some short Periods beyond which it could not reach, and after which it must begin to decay. It falls in one Country or one Age, and rises again in others, but never beyond a certain Pitch. One Man or one Country at a certain Time runs a great Length in some certain Kinds of Knowledge, but lose as much Ground in others that were perhaps as useful and as valuable. There is a certain Degree of Capacity in the greatest Vessel, and when 'tis full, if you pour in still, it must run out some way or other, and the more it runs out, on one side, the less runs out at the other. So the greatest Memory, after a certain Degree, as it learns or retains more of some Things or Words, loses and forgets as much of others. The largest and deepest Reach of

Thought, the more it pursues some certain Subjects, the more it neglects others

Besides, few men or none excel in all Faculties of Mind. A great Memory may fail of Invention, both may want Judgment to Digest or Apply what they Remember or Invent. Great Courage may want Caution, great Prudence may want Vigour, yet all are necessary to make a great Commander. But how can a man hope to excel in all qualities, when some are produced by the heat, others by the coldness, of Brain and Temper? The abilities of man must fall short on one side or other, like too scanty a Blanket when you are a Bed if you pull it upon your Shoulders, you leave your Feet bare, if you thrust it down upon your Feet, your Shoulders are uncovered.

But what would we have, unless it be other Natures and Beings than God Almighty has given us? The height of our Statues may be six or seven Foot, and we would have it sixteen, the length of our Age may reach to a hundred Years, and we would have it a thousand. We are born to grovel upon the Earth, and we would fain soar up to the Skies. We cannot comprehend the growth of a Kernel or Seed, the Frame of an *Ant* or *Bee*, we are amazed at the Wisdom of the one and Industry of the other, and yet we will know the Substance, the Figure, the Courses, the Influences of all those Glorious Cœlestial Bodies, and the end for which they were made, we pretend to give a clear Account how Thunder and Lightning (that great Artillery of God Almighty) is produced, and we cannot comprehend how the Voice of a man is Framed, that poor little noise we make every time we speak. The motion of the Sun is plain and evident to some Astronomers, and of the Earth to others, yet we none of us know which of them moves, and meet with many seeming impossibilities in both, and beyond the fathom of human reason or comprehension. Nay, we

do not so much as know what Motion is, nor how a stone moves from our hand when we throw it cross the Street Of all these that most Ancient and Divine Writter gives the best Account in that short Satyr, *Tain man would faine be wise, when he is born like a wild Asses Colt.*

But God be thanked, his Pride is greater than his ignorance, and what he wants in Knowledge he supplies by Sufficiency. When he has looked about him as far as he can, he concludes there is no more to be seen. when he is
10 at the end of his Line, he is at the bottom of the Ocean when he has shot his best, he is sure none ever did nor ever can shoot better or beyond it. His own Reason is the certain measure of truth, his own Knowledge, of what is possible in Nature, though his mind and his thoughts change
15 every seven Years as well as his strength and his features nay, though his Opinions change every Week or every Day, yet he is sure, or at least confident, that his present thoughts and conclusions are just and true, and cannot be deceived, And among all the miseries to which mankind is born and
20 subjected in the whole course of his life, he has this one Felicity to Comfort and Support him, That in all ages, in all things, every man is always in the right. A Boy of fifteen is wiser than his Father at forty, the meanest Subject than his Prince or Governours; and the modern Scholars,
25 because they have for a Hundred Years past learned their Lesson pretty well, are much more knowing than the Ancients, their Masters

But let it be so, and proved by good reasons, Is it so by experience too? Have the Studies, the Writings, the
30 Productions of *Gresham* Colledge, or the late Academies of *Paris*, outshined or eclipsed the Lycæum of *Plato*, the Academy of *Aristotle*, the *Stoa* of *Zeno*, the Garden of *Epicurus*? Has *Henry* outdone *Hippocrates*, or *Wilkins*, *Archimedes*? Are *D'aviila's* and *Strada's* Histories beyond,

those of *Herodotus* and *Livy*? Are *Sleyden's* Commentaries beyond those of *Cæsar*? The Flights of *Boileau* above those of *Virgil*? If all this must be allowed, I will then yield *Gondibert* to have excelled *Homer*, as it pretended, and the modern *French* Poetry, all that of the 5 Ancients. And yet, I think, it may be as reasonably said, That the Plays in *Moor-Fields* are beyond the *Olympick* Games, A *Welsh* or *Irish* Harp excels those of *Orpheus* and *Arion*. The Pyramid in *London*, those of *Memphis*, and the *French* Conquests in *Flanders* are greater than 10 those of *Alexander* and *Cæsar*, as their Opera's and Panegyrics would make us believe.

But the Consideration of Poetry ought to be a Subject by it self. For the Books we have in Prose, Do any of the modern we converse with appeal of such a Spirit and 15 Force as if they would live longer than the Ancient have done? If our Wit and Eloquence, our knowledge or Inventions would deserve it, yet our Languages would not, there is no hope of their lasting long, nor of any thing in them, they change every Hundred Years so as 20 to be hardly known for the same, or any thing of the former Styles to be endured by the later, so as they can no more last like the Ancients, than excellent Carvings in Wood like those in Marble or Brass.

The three modern Tongues most esteemed are *Italian*, 25 *Spanish*, and *French*, all imperfect Dialects of the Noble *Roman*. first mingled and corrupted with the harsh Words and Terminations of those many different and barbarous Nations by whose Invasions and Excursions the *Roman* Empire was long infested, They were afterwards 30 made up into these several Languages, by long and popular use, out of those ruins and corruptions of *Latin* and the prevailing Languages of those Nations to which these several Provinces came in time to be most and

longest subjected, as the *Goths* and *Moors* in *Spain*, the *Goths* and *Lombards* in *Italy*, the *Franks* in *Gaul*, besides a mingle of those Tongues which were Original to *Gaul* and to *Spain* before the *Roman* Conquests and Establish-
 5 ments there. Of these there may be some Remainders in *Biscay* or the *Asturias*, but I doubt whether there be any of the old *Gallick* in *France*, the Subjection there having been more Universal, both to the *Romans* and *Franks*. But I do not find the Mountainous Parts on the North of
 10 *Spain* were ever wholly subdued or formerly Governed either by the *Romans*, *Goths*, or *Saracens*, no more than *Wales* by *Romans*, *Saxons*, or *Normans*, after their Conquests in our Islands which has preserved the ancient-
Biscayn and *British* more entire than any Native Tongue
 15 of other Provinces where the *Roman* and *Gothick* or *Northern* Conquests reached and were for any time Established.

'Tis easy to imagine how imperfect Copies these modern Languages, thus composed, must needs be of so excellent an
 20 Original, being patcht up out of the Conceptions as well as Sounds of such barbarous or enslaved People Whereas the *Latin* was framed or cultivated by the thoughts and uses of the Noblest Nation that appears upon any Record of Story, and enriched only by the Spoils of *Greece*, which
 25 alone could pretend to contest it with them 'Tis obvious enough what rapport there is, and must ever be, between the thoughts and words, the Conceptions and Languages of every Country, and how great a difference this must make in the Comparison, and Excellence of Books, and
 30 how easy and just a preference it must decree to those of the *Greek* and *Latin* before any of the modern Languages

It may, perhaps, be further affirmed in Favour of the Ancients, that the oldest Books we have are still in their kind the best The two most ancient that I know of in

Prose, among those we call profane Authors, are *Æsop's* Fables and *Phalaris's* Epistles, both living near the same time, which was that of *Cyrus* and *Pythagoras*. As the first has been agreed by all Ages since for the greatest Master in his kind, and all others of that sort have been but imitations of his Original, so I think the Epistles of *Phalaris* to have more Race, more Spirit, more Force of Wit and Genius than any others I have ever seen, either ancient or modern. I know several Learned men (or that usually pass for such, under the Name of Critics) have not esteemed them Genuine, and *Politian* with some others have attributed them to *Lucian*. But I think he must have little skill in Painting, that cannot find out this to be an Original: such diversity of Passions upon such variety of Actions and Passages of Life and Government, such Freedom of Thought, such Boldness of Expression, such Bounty to his Friends, such Scorn of his Enemies, such Honour of Learned men, such esteem of Good, such Knowledge of Life, such Contempt of Death, with such Fierceness of Nature and Cruelty of Revenge, could never be represented but by him that possessed them, and I esteem *Lucian* to have been no more Capable of Writing than of Acting what *Phalaris* did. In all one Writ you find the Scholar or the Sophist, and in all the other, the Tyrant and the Commander.

25

The next to these in Time are *Herodotus*, *Thucydides*, *Hippocrates*, *Plato*, *Xenophon*, and *Aristotle*, of whom I shall say no more than what I think is allowed by all, that they are in their several kinds inimitable. So are *Cæsar*, *Salust*, and *Cicero* in theirs, who are the Ancientest of the Latin (I speak still of Prose), unless it be some little of old *Cato* upon Rustick Affairs.

The Height and Purity of the *Roman* Style, as it began towards the Time of *Lucius*, which was about that of the

Jugurthin War, so it ended about that of *Tyberius*; and the last strain of it seems to have been *Velleus Paterculus*. The Purity of the *Greek* lasted a great deal longer, and must be allowed till *Trajan's* Time, when *Plutarch* wrote, 5 whose *Greek* is much more esteemable than the *Latin* of *Tacitus*, his Contemporary After this last, I know none that deserves the Name of *Latin*, in Comparison of what went before them, especially in the *Augustan* Age, It any, 'tis the little Treatise of *Minutius Felix*. All *Latin* Books 10 that we have till the end of *Trajan*, and all *Greek* till the end of *Marcus Antoninus*, have a true and very esteemable Value All written since that time seem to me to have little more than what comes from the Relation of Events we are glad to know, or the Controversy of Opinions in Religion or 15 Laws, wherein the busie World has been so much employed

The great Wits among the moderns have been, in my Opinion, and in their several kinds, of the *Italians*, *Boccace*, *Machriavel*, and *Padre Paolo*; among the *Spaniards*, *Cervantes*, that writ *Don Quixot*, and *Guevara*, among the 20 *French*, *Rablais* and *Montagne*, among the *English*, *Sir Philip Sidney*, *Bacon*, and *Selden*. I mention nothing of what is written upon the Subject of Divinity, wherein the *Spanish* and *English* Pens have been most Conversant and most Excelled The Modern *French* are *Vouture*, *Roch-* 25 *faucalt's* Memoirs, *Bussy's Amours de Gaul*, with several other little Relations or Memoirs that have run this Age, which are very pleasant and entertaining, and seem to have Refined the *French* Language to a degree that cannot be well exceeded. I doubt it may have happened 30 there, as it does in all Works, that the more they are filed and polished, the less they have of weight and of strength; and as that Language has much more fineness and smoothness at this time, so I take it to have had much more force, spirit, and compass in *Montagne's* Age.

Since those accidents which contributed to the Restoration of Learning, almost extinguished in the *Western* Parts of *Europe*, have been observed, it will be just to mention some that may have hindered the advancement of it, in proportion to what might have been expected from the mighty growth and progress made in the first Age after its recovery. One great reason may have been that very soon after the entry of Learning upon the Scene of Christendom, another was made by many of the New-Learned men into the inquiries and contests about matters of Religion, the manners and maxims and institutions introduced by the Clergy for seven or eight Centuries past, The Authority of Scripture and Tradition, Of Popes and of Councils, Of the ancient Fathers and of the later School-men and Casuists, Of Ecclesiastical and Civil Power. The humour of ravelling into all these mystical or entangled Matters, mingling with the Interests and Passions of Princes and of Parties, and thereby heightened or inflamed, produced Infinite Disputes, raised violent Heats throughout all Parts of Christendom, and soon ended in many Defections or Reformations from the *Roman* Church, and in several new Institutions, both Ecclesiastical and Civil, in diverse Countries, which have been since Rooted and Established in almost all the *North-West* Parts. The endless Disputes and litigious Quarrels upon all these Subjects, favoured and encouraged by the Interests of the several Princes engaged in them, either took up wholly or generally employed the Thoughts, the Studies, the Applications, the endeavours of all or most of the finest Wits, the deepest Scholars, and the most Learned Writers that the Age produced. Many excellent Spirits, and the most penetrating Genys, that might have made admirable Progresses and Advances in many other Sciences, were sunk and overwhelmed in the abyss of Disputes about matters of Religion, without ever turning their Looks or Thoughts any

other way To these Disputes of the Pen succeeded those of the Sword, and the Ambition of great Princes and Ministers, mingled with the Zeal or covered with the pretences of Religion, has for a Hundred Years past infested Christendom
5 with almost a perpetual Course or Succession either of Civil or of Foreign Wars. the noise and disorders thereof have been ever the most capital Enemies of the *Muses*, who are seated by the ancient Fables upon the top of *Parnassus*, that is, in a place of safety and of quiet from the reach of all
10 noises and disturbances of the Regions below

Another circumstance that may have hindred the advancement of Learning has been a want or decay of Favour in great Kings and Princes to encourage or applaud it Upon the first return or recovery of this fair Stranger among us, all were
15 fond of seeing her, apt to applaud her she was lodged in Palaces instead of Cells, and the greatest Kings and Princes of the Age took either a pleasure in courting her or a vanity in admiring her and in favouring all her Train The Courts of *Italy* and *Germany*, of *England*, of *France*, of *Popes* and of
20 *Emperors* thought themselves Honoured and Adorned by the Number and Qualities of Learned men, and by all the improvements of Sciences and Arts wherem they excelled. They were invited from all Parts, for the Use and Entertainment of Kings, for the Education and Instruction of Young
25 Princes, for Advice and Assistance to the greatest Ministers; and in short, the Favour of Learning was the humour and mode of the Age *Francis* the First, *Charles* the Fifth, and *Henry* the Eighth, those three great Rivals, agreed in this, though in nothing else. Many Nobles pursued this Vein
30 with great Application and Success, among whom *Pious de Mirandula*, a Sovereign Prince in *Italy*, might have proved a Prodigy of Learning, if his Studies and Life had lasted as long as those of the Ancients For I think all of them that writ much of what we have now remaining lived old, where-

as he dyed about Three and Thirty, and left the World in admiration of so much knowledge in so much youth Since those Reigns I have not observed in our modern Story any Great Princes much Celebrated for their Favour of Learning, further than to seive their turns, to justifie their Pretensions and Quarrels, or flatter their Successes The Honour of Princes has of late struck Sale to their Interest, whereas of old their Interests, Greatness, and Conquests were all Dedicated to their Glory and Fame

How much the Studies and Labours of Leained men must 10 have been damped for want of this influence and kind aspect of Princes may be best conjectured from what happened on the contrary about the *Augustan* Age, when the Learning of *Rome* was at its height, and perhaps owed it in some Degree to the Bounty and Patronage of that Empeior, and *Mecænas*, 15 his Favourite, as well as to the Felicity of the Empire and Tranquility of the Age

The humour of Avarice and greediness of Wealth have been ever and in all Countreies where Silver and Gold have been in Price and of current use. But if it be true in parti- 20 cular Men, that as Riches encrease, the desires of them do so too, May it not be true of the general Vein and Humour of Ages? May they not have turned more to this pursuit of insatiable gains, since the Discoveries and Plantations of the *West-Indies*, and those vast Treasures that have flowed 25 in to these *Western* Parts of *Europe* almost every Year and with such mighty Tides for so long a course of time? Where few are rich, few care for it, where many are so, many desire it, and most in time begin to think it necessary Where this Opinion grows generally in a Countrey, the Temples of 30 Honour are soon pulled down, and all mens Sacrifices are made to those of Fortune The Souldier as well as the Merchant, the Scholar as well as the Plough-man, the Divine and the States-man as well as the Lawyer and Physician

Now I think that nothing is more evident in the World than that Honour is a much stronger Principle, both of Action and Invention, than gain can ever be That all the Great and Noble Productions of Wit and of Courage have been inspired and exalted by that alone That the Charming Flights and Labours of Poets, the deep Speculations and Studies of Philosophers, the Conquests of Emperors and Achievements of Heroes, have all flowed from this one Source of Honour and Fame. The last Farewel that *Horace* takes of his
10 Lyrick Poems, *Epicurus* of his Inventions in Philosophy, *Augustus* of his Empire and Government, are all of the same strain, and as their Lives were entertained, so their Age was relieved and their Deaths softened, by the Prospect of lying down upon the Bed of Fame

15 Avarice is, on the other side, of all Passions the most sordid, the most clogged and covered with dirt and with dross, so that it cannot raise its Wings beyond the smell of the Earth. 'Tis the pay of common Soldiers, as Honour is of Commanders, and among those themselves none ever went
20 so far upon the hopes of prey or of spoils as those that have been spirited by Honour or Religion 'Tis no wonder, then, that Learning has been so little advanced since it grew to be mercenary, and the Progress of it has been fettered by the cares of the World, and disturbed by the Desires of being
25 Rich or the fears of being Poor, from all which the ancient Philosophers, the *Brachmans* of India, the *Chaldean Magi*, and *Aegyptian* Priests were disintangled and free.

But the last main giving to Learning has been by the scorn of Pedantry, which the shallow, the superficial, and
30 the sufficient among Scholars first drew upon themselves, and very justly, by pretending to more than they had, or to more esteem than what they had could deserve, by broaching it in all places, at all times, upon all occasions, and by living so much among themselves, or in their Closets and

Cells, as to make them unfit for all other business, and ridiculous in all other Conversations. As an Infection that rises in a Town first falls upon Children or weak Constitutions or those that are subject to other Diseases, but, spreading further by degrees, seizes upon the most healthy, & vigorous, and strong, and when the Contagion grows very general, all the Neighbours avoid coming into the Town, or are afraid of those that are well among them as much as of those that are sick. Just so it fared in the Commonwealth of Learning, some poor weak Constitutions were first infected with Pedantry, the Contagion spread in time upon some that were stronger, Foreigners that heard there was a Plague in the Countrey grew afraid to come there, and avoided the commerce of the Sound as well as of the Diseased. This dislike or apprehension turned, like all fear, to hatred, and hatred to scorn. The rest of the Neighbours began first to rail at Pedants, then to ridicule them, the Learned began to fear the same Fate, and that the Pidgeons should be taken for Daws, because they were all in a Flock. And because the poorest and meanest of the Company were so proud, the best and the richest began to be ashamed.

An Ingenious *Spaniard* at *Brussels* would needs have it that the History of *Don Quixot* had ruined the *Spanish* Monarchy. For before that time Love and Valour were all Romance among them; every young Cavalier that entered the Scene Dedicated the Services of his Life to his Honour first, and then to his Mistress. They Lived and Dyed in this Romantick Vein, and the old Duke of *Alva*, in his last *Portugal* expedition, had a young Mistress to whom the Glory of that Atcheivement was Devoted, by which he hoped to value himself, instead of those qualities he had lost with his youth. After *Don Quixot* appeared, and with that inimitable Wit and Humour turned all this Romantick Honour and Love into Ridicule, the *Spaniards*, he said, began,

to grow ashamed of both, and to laugh at Fighting and Loving, or at least otherwise than to pursue their Fortune or satisfy their Lust, and the consequences of this, both upon their Bodies and their Minds, this *Spaniard* would needs have
5 pass for a great Cause of the Ruin of *Spain*, or of its Greatness and Power.

Whatever effect the Ridicule of Knight-Errantry might have had upon that Monarchy, I believe that of Pedantry has had a very ill one upon the Commonwealth of Learning, and
10 I wish the Vein of Ridiculing all that is serious and good, all Honour and Virtue as well as Learning and Piety, may have no worse effects on any other State 'Tis the Itch of our Age and Clymat, and has over run both the Court and the Stage, enters a House of Lords and Commons as boldly as a
15 Coffee-House, Debates of Council as well as private Conversation, and I have known in my Life more than one or two Ministers of State that would rather have said a Witty thing than done a Wise one, and made the Company Laugh rather than the Kingdom Rejoyce. But this is enough to excuse the
20 imperfections of Learning in our Age, and to censure the Sufficiency of some of the Learned, and this small Piece of Justice I have done the Ancients will not, I hope, be taken any more than 'tis meant, for any Injury to the Moderns.

I shall conclude with a Saying of *Alphonsus*, Surnamed
25 the Wise, King of *Aragon*,

That among so many things as are by Men possessed or pursued in the Course of their Lives, all the rest are Bubbles. Besides Old Wood to Burn, Old Wine to Drink, Old Friends to Converse with, and Old Books to Read

II OF POETRY

THE Two common Shrines, to which most Men offer up the Application of their Thoughts and their Lives, are Profit and Pleasure, and by their Devotions to either of these, they are vulgarly distinguished into Two Sects, and called either Busy or Idle Men. Whether these Terms differ in meaning or only in sound, I know very well may be disputed, and with appearance enough, since the Covetous Man takes perhaps as much Pleasure in his Gains as the Voluptuous does in his Luxury, and would not pursue his Business unless he were pleased with it, upon the last Account of what he most wishes and desires, nor would care for the increase of his Fortunes unless he proposed thereby that of his Pleasures too, in one kind or other, so that Pleasure may be said to be his end, whether he will allow to find it in his pursuit or no. Much ado there has been, many Words spent, or (to speak with more respect to the antient Philosophers) many Disputes have been raised upon this Argument, I think to little purpose, and that all has been rather an Exercise of Wit than an Enquiry after Truth, and all Controversies that can never end had better perhaps never begin. The best is to take Words as they are most commonly spoken and meant, like Coin as it most currently passes, without raising scruples upon the weight or the alloy, unless the cheat or the defect be gross and evident. Few Things in the World, or none, will bear too much refining, a Thread too fine Spun will easily break, and the Point of a Needle too finely Filed. The usual acceptation takes Profit and Pleasure for two different Things, and not only calls the Followers or Votaries of them by several Names of Busy and of Idle Men, but distinguishes the Faculties of the mind that are Conversant about them, calling the Operations of

the first, Wisdom, and of the other, Wit, which is a *Saxon* Word that is used to express what the *Spaniards* and *Italians* call *Ingenio*, and the *French*, *Esprit*, both from the *Latin*, but I think Wit more peculiarly signifies that of *Poetry*, as
5 may occur upon Remarks of the *Runic* Language To the first of these are Attributed the Inventions or Productions of things generally esteemed the most necessary, useful, or profitable to Human Life, either in private Possessions or publick Institutions, To the other, those Writings or
10 Discourses which are the most Pleasing or Entertaining to all that read or hear them Yet, according to the Opinion of those that link them together, As the Inventions of Sages and Law-givers themselves do please as well as profit those who approve and follow them, so those of
15 Poets Instruct and Profit as well as Please such as are Conversant in them, and the happy mixture of both these makes the excellency in both those compositions, and has given occasion for esteeming or at least for calling Heroick Virtue and Poetry Divine

20 The Names given to Poets, both in *Greek* and *Latin*, express the same Opinion of them in those Nations The *Greek* signifying Makers or Creators, such as raise admirable Frames and Fabricks out of nothing, which strike with wonder and with pleasure the Eyes and Imaginations
25 of those who behold them, The *Latin* makes the same Word common to Poets and to Prophets. Now, as Creation is the first Attribute and highest Operation of Divine Power, so is Prophecy the greatest Emanation of Divine Spirit in the World As the Names in those Two
30 Learned Languages, so the Causes of Poetry, are by the Writers of them made to be Divine, and to proceed from a Celestial Fire or Divine Inspiration, and by the vulgar Opinions, recited or related to in many Passages of those Authors, the Effects of Poetry were likewise thought Divine

and Supernatural, and Power of Charms and Enchantments were ascribed to it.

*Carmina vel Cælo possunt deducere Lunam,
Carmimbus Circe Socros mutavit Ulyssis,
Frigidus in pratis cantando rumpitur Anguis*

5

But I can easily admire Poetry, and yet without adoring it. I can allow it to arise from the greatest Excellency of natural Temper or the greatest Race of Native Genius, without exceeding the reach of what is Human, or giving it any Approaches of Divinity, which is, I doubt, debased or dishonoured by ascribing to it any thing that is in the compass of our Action or even Comprehension, unless it be raised by an immediate influence from it self. I cannot allow Poetry to be more Divine in its effects than in its causes, nor any Operation produced by it to be more than purely natural, or to deserve any other sort of wonder than those of Musick or of Natural Magick, however any of them have appeared to minds little Versed in the Speculations of Nature, of occult Qualities, and the Force of Numbers or of Sounds. Whoever talks of drawing down the Moon from Heaven by force of Verses or of Charms, either believes not himself, or too easily believes what others told him, or perhaps follows an Opinion begun by the Practise of some Poet upon the faculty of some People,—who, knowing the time when an Eclipse would happen, told them he would by his Charms call down the Moon at such an hour, and was by them thought to have performed it.

When I read that Charming Description in *Virgil's* Eighth Eclogue of all sorts of Charms and Fascinations by Verses, by Images, by Knots, by Numbers, by Fire, by Herbs, employed upon occasion of a violent Passion from a jealous or disappointed Love, I have recourse to the strong Impressions of Fables and of Poetry, to the easy

30

mistakes of Popular Opinions, to the Force of Imagination, to the Secret Virtues of several Herbs, and to the Powers of Sounds And I am sorry the Natural History or Account of Fascination has not employed the Pen of some Person of
5 such excellent Wit and deep Thought and Learning as *Casaubon*, who Writ that curious and useful Treatise of *Enthusiasm*, and by it discovered the hidden or mistaken Sources of that Delusion, so frequent in all Regions and Religions of the World, and which had so fatally spread
10 over our Country in that Age in which this Treatise was so seasonably published. 'Tis much to be lamented, That he lived not to compleat that Work in the Second Part he promised, or that his Friends neglected the publishing it, if it were left in Papers, though loose and unfinished I think
15 a clear Account of Enthusiasm and Fascination from their natural Causes would very much deserve from Mankind in general as well as from the Common-wealth of Learning, might perhaps prevent many publick disorders, and save the Lives of many innocent deluded or deluding People,
20 who suffer so frequently upon Account of Witches and Wizards I have seen many miserable Examples of this kind in my youth at home, and tho' the Humor or Fashion be a good deal worn out of the World within Thirty or Forty Years past, yet it still remains in several remote parts of
25 *Germany, Sweden*, and some other Countries.

But to return to the Charms of Poetry, if the forsaken Lover in that Eclogue of *Virgil* had expected only from the Force of her Verses or her Charms, what is the Burthen of the Song, to bring *Daphnis* home from the
30 Town where he was gone and engaged in a new Amour, if she had pretended only to revive an old fainting Flame, or to damp a new one that was kindling in his Breast, she might, for ought I know, have compassed such Ends by the Power of such Charms, and without other than very,

Natural Enchantments For there is no Question but true Poetry may have the Force to raise Passions and to allay them, to change and to extinguish them, to temper Joy and Grief, to raise Love and Fear, nay, to turn Fear into Boldness, and Love into Indifference and into Hatred it self, and I easily believe, That the disheartned *Spartans* were new animated, and recovered their lost Courage, by the Songs of *Tyrtæus*, that the Cruelty and Revenge of *Phalaris* were changed by the Odes of *Stesichorus* into the greatest Kindness and Esteem, and that many men were as passionately Enamoured by the Charms of *Sappho's* Wit and Poetry as by those of Beauty in *Flora* or *Thais*, for 'tis not only Beauty gives Love, but Love gives Beauty to the Object that raises it, and if the possession be strong enough, let it come from what it will, there is always Beauty enough in the Person that gives it. Nor is it any great Wonder that such Force should be found in Poetry, since in it are assembled all the Powers of Eloquence, of Musick, and of Picture, which are all allowed to make so strong Impressions upon Humane Minds How far Men have been affected with all or any of these needs little Proof or Testimony The Examples have been known enough in *Greece* and *Italy*, where some have fallen down right in Love with the Ravishing Beauties of a lovely Object drawn by the Skill of an admirable Painter, nay, Painters themselves have fallen in love with some of their own Productions, and doted on them as on a Mistress or a fond Child, which distinguishes among the *Italians* the several Pieces that are done by the same Hand into several Degrees of those made *Con Studio*, *Con Diligenza*, or *Con Amore*, whereof the last are ever the most excelling But there needs no more Instances of this Kind than the Stories related and believed by the best Authors as known and undisputed, Of the two young *Greeks*, one

whereof ventured his Life to be lock'd up all Night in the Temple, and satisfie his Passion with the Embraces and Enjoyment of a Statue of *Venus*, that was there set up and designed for another sort of Adoration, The other pined away
5 and dyed for being hindred his perpetually gazing, adorning, and embracing a Statue at *Athens*

The Powers of Musick are either felt and known by all Men, and are allowed to work strangely upon the Mind and the Body, the Passions and the Blood, to raise Joy
10 and Grief, to give Pleasure and Pain, to cure Diseases and the Mortal Sting of the *Tarantula*, to give Motions to the Feet as well as the Heart, to Compose disturbed Thoughts, to assist and heighten Devotion it self We need no
15 Recourse to the Fables of *Orpheus* or *Amphion*, or the Force of their Musick upon Fishes and Beasts, 'tis enough that we find the Charming of Serpents and the Cure or Allay of an evil Spirit or Possession, attributed to it in Sacred Writ.

For the Force of Eloquence that so often raised and
20 appeased the Violence of Popular Commotions and caused such Convulsions in the *Athenian* State, no Man need more to make him Acknowledge it than to consider *Cæsar*, one of the greatest and wisest of mortal Men, come upon the Tribunal full of Hatred and Revenge, and with a determined
25 Resolution to Condemn *Labienus*, yet upon the Force of *Cicero's* Eloquence, in an Oration for his Defence, begin to change Countenance, turn pale, shake to that degree that the Papers he held fell out of his hand, as if he had been
30 last change all his Anger into Clemency, and acquit the brave Criminal instead of condemning him.

Now if the Strength of these three mighty Powers be united in Poetry, we need not Wonder that such Virtues and such Honours have been attributed to it, that it has

been thought to be inspired, or has been called Divine, and yet I think it will not be disputed that the Force of Wit and of Reasoning, the Height of Conceptions and Expressions, may be found in Poetry as well as in Oratory, the Life and Spirit of Representation or Picture as much as in Painting, and the Force of Sounds as well as in Musick; and how far these three natural Powers together may extend, and to what Effect, even such as may be mistaken for Supernatural or Magical, I leave it to such Men to consider whose Thoughts turn to such Speculations as these, or who by their native Temper and Genius are in some degree disposed to receive the Impressions of them. For my part, I do not wonder that the famous Doctor *Harvey*, when he was reading *Virgil*, should sometimes throw him down upon the Table, and say he had a Devil, nor that the learned *Merc Casaubon* should find such Charming Pleasures and Emotions as he describes, upon the reading some Parts of *Lucretius*, that so many should cry, and with down-right Tears, at some Tragedies of *Shake-spear*, and so many more should feel such Turns or Curdling of their Blood upon the reading or hearing some excellent Pieces of Poetry, nor, that *Octavia* fell into a Swoond at the recital made by *Virgil* of those Verses in the Sixth of his *Aeneides*.

This is enough to assert the Powers of Poetry, and discover the Ground of those Opinions of old which derived it from Divine Inspiration, and gave it so great a share in the supposed Effects of Sorcery or Magick. But as the Old Romances seem to lessen the Honour of true Prowess and Valour in their Knights by giving such a part in all their Chief Adventures to Enchantment, so the true excellency and just esteem of Poetry seems rather debased than exalted by the Stories or Belief of the Charms performed by it, which among the *Northern* Nations grew so strong and so

general that about Five or Six Hundred Years ago all the *Runic* Poetry came to be decayed, and those ancient Characters in which they were Written to be abolished by the Zeal of Bishops and even by Orders and Decrees of State, which has given a great Maim, or rather an irrecoverable Loss, to the Story of those *Northern* Kingdoms, the Seat of our Ancestors in all the *Western* parts of *Europe*

The more true and natural Source of Poetry may be discovered by observing to what God this Inspiration was ascribed by the Antients, which was *Apollo*, or the Sun, esteemed among them the God of Learning in general, but more particularly of Musick and of Poetry The Mystery of this Fable means, I suppose, that a certain Noble and Vital Heat of Temper, but especially of the Brain, is the true Spring of these Two Arts or Sciences This was that Celestial Fire which gave such a pleasing Motion and Agitation to the minds of those Men that have been so much admired in the World, that raises such infinite images of things so agreeable and delightful to Mankind. By the influence of this Sun are produced those Golden and Inexhausted Mines of Invention, which has furnished the World with Treasures so highly esteemed and so universally known and used in all the Regions that have yet been discovered From this arises that Elevation of Genius which can never be produced by any Art or study, by Pains or by Industry, which cannot be taught by Precepts or Examples, and therefore is agreed by all to be the pure and free Gift of Heaven or of Nature, and to be a Fire kindled out of some hidden spark of the very first Conception.

But tho' Invention be the Mother of Poetry, yet this Child is like all others born naked, and must be Nourished with Care, Cloathed with Exactness and Elegance, Educated with Industry, Instructed with Art, Improved by Application, Corrected with Severity, and Accomplished with

Labour and with Time, before it Arrives at any great Perfection or Growth. 'Tis certain that no Composition requires so many several Ingredients, or of more different sorts than this, nor that to excel in any qualities there are necessary so many Gifts of Nature and so many improvements of Learning and of Art For there must be an universal Genius, of great Compass as well as great Elevation. There must be a spritely Imagination or Fancy, fertile in a thousand Productions, ranging over infinite Ground, piercing into every Corner, and by the Light of that true Poetical Fire discovering a thousand little Bodies or Images in the World, and Similitudes among them, unseen to common Eyes, and which could not be discovered without the Rays of that Sun.

Besides the heat of Invention and liveness of Wit, there must be the coldness of good Sense and soundness of Judgment, to distinguish between things and conceptions which at first sight or upon short glances seem alike, to choose among infinite productions of Wit and Fancy which are worth preserving and cultivating, and which are better stifled in the Birth, or thrown away when they are born, as not worth bringing up. Without the Forces of Wit all Poetry is flat and languishing, without the succors of Judgment 'tis wild and extravagant. The true wonder of Poesy is, That such contraries must meet to compose it a Genius both Penetrating and Solid; in Expression both Delicacy and Force; and the Frame or Fabrick of a true Poem must have something both Sublime and Just, Amazing and Agreeable. There must be a great Agitation of Mind to Invent, a great Calm to Judge and correct, there must be upon the same Tree, and at the same Time, both Flower and Fruit. To work up this Metal into exquisite Figure, there must be employ'd the Fire, the Hammer, the Chizel, and the File. There must be a General Knowledge both of Nature and of Arts, and

to go the lowest that can be, there are required *Genius*, Judgment, and Application; for without this last all the rest will not serve turn, and none ever was a great Poet that applyed himself much to any thing else.

5 When I speak of Poetry, I mean not an Ode or an Elegy, a Song or a Satyr, nor by a Poet the Composer of any of these, but of a just Poem; And after all I have said, 'tis no wonder there should be so few that appeared in any Parts or any Ages of the World, or that such as have should be so
10 much admired, and have almost Divinity ascribed to them and to their Works

Whatever has been among those who are mentioned with so much Praise or Admiration by the Antients, but are lost to us, and unknown any further than their Names, I think
15 no Man has been so bold among those that remain to question the Title of *Homer* and *Virgil*, not only to the first Rank, but to the supreme Dominion in this State, and from whom, as the great Law-givers as well as Princes, all the Laws and Orders of it are or may be derived. *Homer* was
20 without Dispute the most Universal *Genius* that has been known in the World, and *Virgil* the most accomplish'd. To the first must be allowed the most fertile Invention, the richest Vein, the most general Knowledge, and the most lively Expression To the last, The noblest Idea's, the
25 justest Institution, the wisest Conduct, and the choicest Elocution. To speak in the Painters Terms, we find in the Works of *Homer*, the most Spirit, Force, and Life; in those of *Virgil*, the best Design, the truest Proportions, and the greatest Grace The Colouring in both seems equal, and,
30 indeed, in both is admirable. *Homer* had more Fire and Rapture, *Virgil* more Light and Swiftness, or at least, the Poetical Fire was more raging in one, but clearer in the other, which makes the first more amazing and the latter more agreeable. The Oare was richer in one, but

in t'other more refined, and better allay'd to make up
 excellent Work Upon the whole, I think it must be con-
 fessed that *Homer* was of the two, and perhaps of all
 others, the vastest, the sublimest, and the most wonderful
Genius, and that he has been generally so esteemed, there
 cannot be a greater Testimony given than what has been by
 some observed, that not only the Greatest Masters have
 found in his Works the best and truest Principles of all
 then Sciences or Arts, but that the noblest Nations have
 derived from them the Original of their several Races,
 though it be hardly yet agreed, Whether his Story be True
 or Fiction In short, these two immortal Poets must be
 allowed to have so much excelled in their kinds as to have
 exceeded all Comparison, to have even extinguished Emu-
 lation, and in a Manner confined true Poetry not only to
 their two Languages, but to their very Persons And I am
 apt to believe so much of the true *Genius* of Poetry in
 general, and of its Elevation in these two Particulars, that
 I know not whether of all the Numbers of Mankind that
 live within the Compass of a Thousand Years, for one Man
 that is born capable of making such a Poet as *Homer* or
Virgil, there may not be a Thousand born Capable of
 making as great Generals of Armies or Ministers of State as
 any the most Renowned in Story.

I do not here intend to make a further Critick upon
 Poetry, which were too great a Labour, nor to give Rules
 for it, which were as great a Presumption Besides, there
 has been so much Paper blotted upon these Subjects in this
 Curious and Censuring Age, that 'tis all grown tedious or
 Repetition. The Modern *French* Wits (or Pretenders) have
 been very severe in their Censures and exact in their Rules,
 I think to very little Purpose, For I know not why they
 might not have contented themselves with those given by
Aristotle and *Horace*, and have Translated them rather than

Commented upon them, for all they have done has been no more, so as they seem, by their Writings of this kind, rather to have valued themselves than improved any body else. The Truth is, there is something in the *Genus* of Poetry too
 5 Libertine to be confined to so many Rules, and whoever goes about to subject it to such Constraints loses both its Spirit and Grace, which are ever Native, and never learnt, even of the best Masters. 'Tis as if, to make excellent Honey, you should cut off the Wings of your Bees, confine
 10 them to their Hive or their Stands, and lay Flowers before them, such as you think the sweetest and like to yield the finest Extraction, you had as good pull out their Stings, and make ariant Drones of them. They must range through Fields as well as Gardens, choose such Flowers as they
 15 please, and by Proprieties and Scents they only know and distinguish. They must work up their Cells with Admirable Art, extract their Honey with infinite Labour, and sever it from the Wax with such Distinction and Choyce as belongs to none but themselves to perform or to judge.

20 It would be too much Mortification to these great Arbitrary Rules among the *French* Writers or our own to Observe the worthy Productions that have been formed by their Rules, the Honour they have received in the World, or the Pleasure they have given Mankind. But to comfort
 25 them, I do not know there was any great Poet in *Greece* after the Rules of that Art layd down by *Aristotle*, nor in *Rome* after those by *Horace*, which yet none of our Moderns pretend to have out-done. Perhaps *Theocritus* and *Lucan* may be alledg'd against this Assertion, but the first offered
 30 no further than at Idils or Eclogues, and the last, though he must be avowed for a true and a happy *Genius*, and to have made some very high Flights, yet he is so unequal to himself, and his Muse is so young, that his Faults are too noted to allow his Pretences *Fælociter audet* is the true

Character of *Lucan*, as of *Ovid*, *Lust amabiliter* After all, the utmost that can be atchieved or, I think, pretended by any Rules in this Art is but to hinder some men from being very ill Poets, but not to make any man a very good one. To judge who is so, we need go no further for Instruction than three Lines of *Horace*

*Ille meum qui Pectus inaniter angit,
Irritat, mulcet, falsis terroribus implet,
Ut Magus, & modo me Thebis, modo ponit Athenis*

He is a Poet,

10

*Who vainly anguishes my Breast,
Provokes, allays, and with false Terror fills,
Like a Magician, and now sets me down
In Thebes, and now in Athens*

Whoever does not affect and move the same present Passions in you that he represents in others, and at other times raise Images about you, as a Conjuror is said to do Spirits, Transport you to the Places and to the Persons he describes, cannot be judged to be a Poet, though his Measures are never so just, his Feet never so smooth, or his Sounds never so sweet

But instead of Critick or Rules concerning Poetry, I shall rather turn my Thoughts to the History of it, and observe the Antiquity, the Uses, the Changes, the Decays, that have attended this great Empire of Wit.

25

It is, I think, generally agreed to have been the first sort of Writing that has been used in the World, and in several Nations to have preceded the very invention or Usage of Letters. This last is certain in *America*, where the first Spaniards met with many strains of Poetry, and left several of them Translated into their Language, which seem to have flowed from a true Poetick Vein before any Letters were known in those Regions. The same is probable of the Scythians, the Grecians, and the Germans. Aristotle says

the *Agathyræ* had their Laws all in Verse, and *Tacitus*, that the *Germans* had no Annals nor Records but what were so, and for the *Grecian* Oracles delivered in them, we have no certain Account when they began, but rather reason to believe it was before the Introduction of Letters from *Phœnicians* among them. *Pliny* tells it, as a thing known, that *Pherecydes* was the first who Writ Prose in the *Greek* Tongue, and that he lived about the time of *Cyrus*, whereas *Homer* and *Hesiod* lived some Hundreds of Years before that
 10 Age, and *Orpheus*, *Linus*, *Musæus*, some Hundreds before them And of the *Sybils*,* several were before any of those, and in times as well as places whereof we have no clear Records now remaining. What *Solon* and *Pythagoras* Writ is said to have been in Verse, who were something older
 15 than *Cyrus*, and before them were *Archilocus*, *Simonides*, *Tyrtæus*, *Sappho*, *Stesichorus*, and several other Poets famous in their times The same thing is reported of *Chaldaea*, *Syria*, and *China*, among the ancient *Western Goth*, our Ancestors, the *Runic* Poetry seems to have been as old
 20 as their Letters, and their Laws, their Precepts of Wisdom as well as their Records, their Religious Rites as well as their Charms and Incantations, to have been all in Verse.

Among the *Hebrews*, and even in Sacred Writ, the most antient is by some Learned Men esteemed to be the Book of
 25 *Job*, and that it was Written before the time of *Moses*, and that it was a Translation into *Hebrew*, out of the old *Chaldaean* or *Arabian* Language. It may probably be conjectured that he was not a *Jew*, from the place of his abode, which appears to have been Seated between the *Chaldeans* of one Side and
 30 the *Sabæans* (who were of *Arabia*) on the other, and by many Passages of that admirable and truly inspired Poem, the Author seems to have lived in some Parts near the Mouth of *Euphrates*, or the *Persian* Gulf, where he contemplated the Wonders of the Deep as well as the other Works of

Nature common to those Regions Nor is it easy to find any Traces of the *Mosaic* Rites or Institutions, either in the Divine Worship or the Morals related to in those Writings. For not only Sacrifices and Praises were much more antient in Religious Service than the Age of *Moses*, But the Opinion of one Deity, and Adored without any Idol or Representation, was Professed and Received among the antient *Persians* and *Hetruscans* and *Chaldeans* So that if *Job* was an *Hebrew*, 'tis probable he may have been of the Race of *Heber*, who lived in *Chaldæa*, or of *Abraham*, who is supposed to have 10 left that Country for the Profession or Worship of one God, rather than from the Branch of *Isaac* and *Israel*, who lived in the Land of *Canaan* Now I think it is out of Controversy that the Book of *Job* was Written Originally in Verse, and was a Poem upon the Subject of the Justice and Power of 15 God, and in Vindication of his Providence against the common Arguments of Atheistical Men, who took occasion to dispute it from the usual Events of Human things, by which so many ill and impious Men seem Happy and Prosperous in the course of their Lives, and so many Pious and Just Men 20 seem Miserable or Afflicted. The *Spanish* Translation of the *Jews* in *Ferrara*, which pretends to render the *Hebrew*, as near as could be, word for word, and for which all Translators of the Bible since have had great Regard, gives us the Two first Chapters and the Last from the seventh 25 Verse in Prose, as an Historical Introduction and Conclusion of the Work, and all the rest in Verse, except the Transitions from one Part or Person of this Sacred Dialogue to another.

But if we take the Books of *Moses* to be the most antient 30 in the *Hebrew* Tongue, yet the Song of *Moses* may probably have been Written before the rest, as that of *Deborah*, before the Book of *Judges*, being Praises sung to God upon the Victories or Successes of the *Israelites*, related in both And

I never read the last without observing in it as True and Noble Strains of Poetry and Picture as in any other Language whatsoever, in spite of all Disadvantages from Translations into so different Tongues and common Prose. If an
5 Opinion of some Learned Men, both Modern and Antient, could be allowed, that *Esdra's* was the Writer or Compiler of the first Historical Parts of the Old Testament, though from the same Divine Inspiration as that of *Moses* and the other Prophets, then the Psalms of *David* would be the first
10 Writings we find in *Hebrew*; and next to them, the Song of *Solomon*, which was written when he was young, and *Ecclesiastes* when he was old. So that from all sides, both Sacred and Profane, It appears that *Poetry* was the first sort of Writing known and used in the several Nations of the World.

15 It may seem strange, I confess, upon the first thought, that a sort of Style so regular and so difficult should have grown in use before the other so easy and so loose. But if we consider what the first end of Writing was, it will appear probable from Reason as well as Experience, For
20 the true and General End was but the Help of Memory in preserving that of Words and of Actions, which would otherwise have been lost and soon vanish away with the Transitory Passage of Human Breath and Life. Before the Discourses and Disputes of Philosophers began to busie or
25 amuse the *Grecian* Wits, there was nothing Written in Prose, but either Laws, some short Sayings of Wise men, or some Riddles, Parables, or Fables, wherein were couched by the Antients many Strains of Natural or Moral Wisdom and Knowledge, and besides these some short Memorials of
30 Persons, Actions, and of Times. Now 'tis obvious enough to conceive how much easier all such Writings should be Learnt and Remembred in Verse than in Prose, not only by the Pleasure of Measures and of Sounds, which gives a great Impression to Memory, but by the order of Feet, which

makes a great Facility of Tracing one Word after another, by knowing what sort of Foot or Quantity must necessarily have preceded or followed the Words we retain and desire to make up

This made Poetry so necessary before Letters were invented, and so convenient afterwards, and shews that the great Honor and general Request wherein it has always been has not proceeded only from the Pleasure and Delight, but likewise from the Usefulness and Profit of Poetical Writings

10

This leads me naturally to the Subjects of Poetry, which have been generally Praise, Instruction, Story, Love, Grief, and Reproach. Praise was the Subject of all the Songs and Psalms mentioned in Holy Writ, of the Hymns of *Orpheus*, of *Homer*, and many others, Of the *Cumina Secularia* in *Rome*, Composed all and Designed for the Honor of their Gods; Of *Pindar*, *Stesichorus*, and *Tyrtæus*, in the Praises of Virtue or Virtuous Men The Subject of *Job* is Instruction concerning the Attributes of God and the Works of Nature. Those of *Simonides*, *Phocylides*, *Theognis*, and several other of the smaller *Greek* Poets, with what passes for *Pythagoras*, are Instructions in Morality, The first Book of *Hesiod* and *Virgil's Georgicks*, in Agriculture, and *Lucretius* in the deepest natural Philosophy. Story is the proper Subject of Heroick Poems, as *Homer* and *Virgil* in their inimitable *Iliads* and *Æneids*, And *Fable*, which is a sort of Story, in the *Metamorphosis* of *Ovid*. The *Lyrick* Poetry has been chiefly Conversant about Love, tho' turned often upon Praise too, and the Vein of Pastorals and Eclogues has run the same course, as may be observed in *Theocritus*, *Virgil*, and *Horace*, who was, I think, the first and last of true *Lyrick* Poets among the *Latins*. Grief has been always the Subject of *Elegy*, and Reproach that of *Satyr*. The *Dramatick* Poesy has been Composed of all these, but the chief end

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seems to have been Instruction, and under the disguise of Fables or the Pleasure of Story to shew the Beauties and the Rewards of Virtue, the Deformities and Misfortunes or Punishment of Vice, By Examples of both, to Encourage one, and Deter Men from the other, to Reform ill Customs, Correct ill Manners, and Moderate all violent Passions. These are the general Subjects of both Parts, tho' Comedy give us but the Images of common Life, and Tragedy those of the greater and more extraordinary Passions and Actions among Men To go further upon this Subject would be to tread so beaten Paths, that to Travel in them only raises Dust, and is neither of Pleasure nor of Use

For the Changes that have happened in Poetry, I shall observe one Ancient, and the others that are Modern will be too Remarkable, in the Declines or Decays of this great Empire of Wit The first Change of Poetry was made by Translating it into Prose, or Cloathing it in those loose Robes or common Veils that disguised or covered the true Beauty of its Features and Exactness of its Shape. This was done first by *Aesop* in *Greek*, but the Vein was much more antient in the *Eastern* Regions, and much in Vogue, as we may observe in the many Parables used in the old Testament as well as in the New And there is a Book of Fables, of the Sort of *Aesop's*, Translated out of *Persian*, and pretended to have been so into that Language out of the antient *Indian*, But though it seems Genuine of the *Eastern* Countries, yet I do not take it to be so old nor to have so much Spirit as the *Greek*. The next Succession of Poetry in Prose seems to have been in the *Miletian* Tales, which were a sort of little Pastoral Romances, and though much in request in old *Greece* and *Rome*, yet we have no Examples that I know of them, unless it be the *Longi Pastoralia*, which gives a Tast of the great Delicacy and Pleasure that was found so generally in those sort of Tales

The last Kind of Poetry in Prose is that which in latter Ages has over run the World under the Name of Romances, which tho' it seems Modern and a Production of the *Gothick* Genius, yet the Writing is antient The Reminders of *Petronius Arbitr* seem to be of this Kind, and that which *Lucian* calls his True History But the most antient that passes by the Name is *Heliodorus*, Famous for the Author's chusing to lose his Bishoprick rather than disown that Child of his Wit The true Spirit or Vein of antient Poetry in this Kind seems to shine most in Sir *Philip Sidney*, whom I esteem both the greatest Poet and the Noblest Genius of any that have left Writings behind them and published in ours or any other modern Language,—a Person born capable not only of forming the greatest *Ideas*, but of leaving the noblest Examples, if the length of his Life had been equal to the excellence of his Wit and his Virtues

With him I leave the Discourse of antient Poetry, and to discover the Decays of this Empire must turn to that of the modern, which was introduced after the Decays or rather Extinction of the old, as if, true Poetry being dead, an Apparition of it walked about This mighty Change arriv'd by no smaller Occasions nor more ignoble Revolutions than those which destroyed the antient Empire and Government of *Rome*, and Erected so many New ones upon their Ruins, by the Invasions and Conquests or the general Inundations of the *Goths*, *Vandals*, and other Barbarous or Northern Nations, upon those Parts of *Europe* that had been subject to the *Romans*. After the Conquests made by *Cæsar* upon *Gaul* and the nearer Parts of *Germany*, which were continued and enlarged in the times of *Augustus* and *Tiberius* by their Lieutenants or Generals, great Numbers of *Germans* and *Gauls* resorted to the *Roman* Armies, and to the City it self, and habituated themselves there, as many *Spaniards*, *Syrians*, *Græcians* had done before upon the Conquest of

those Countries. This mixture soon Corrupted the Purity of the *Latin* Tongue, so that in *Lucan*, but more in *Seneca*, we find a great and harsh Allay entered into the Style of the *Augustan* Age. After *Trayan* and *Adrian* had subdued 5 many *German* and *Scythian* Nations on both sides of the *Danube*, the Commerce of those barbarous People grew very frequent with the *Romans*, and I am apt to think that the little Verses ascribed to *Adrian* were in Imitation of the *Runick* Poetry. The *Scythicas Patri Pruinæ* of *Florus* shews 10 their Race or Clymate, and the first Rhyme that ever I read in *Latin*, with little Allusions of Letters or Syllables, is in that of *Adrian* at his Death

O *Animula vagula, blandula,*
Quæ nunc abibis in loca ?
 15 *Pallidula, lurida, timidula,*
Nec, ut soles, dabis joca

'Tis probable, the old Spirit of Poetry being lost or flighted away by those long and bloody Wars with such barbarous Enemies, this New Ghost began to appear in its 20 room even about that Age, or else that *Adrian*, who affected that piece of Learning as well as others, and was not able to reach the old Vein, turned to a new one, which his Expeditions into those Countries made more allowable in an Emperor, and his Example recommended to others. In the 25 time of *Boetius*, who lived under *Theodorick* in *Rome*, we find the *Latin* Poetry smell rank of this *Gothick* Imitation, and the old vein quite seared up

After that Age Learning grew every day more and more obscured by that Cloud of Ignorance which, coming from 30 the *North* and increasing with the Numbers and Successes of those barbarous People, at length over-shadowed all *Europe* for so long together. The *Roman* Tongue began it self to fail or be disused, and by its Corruption made way for the Generation of three New Languages, in *Spain*, *Italy*, and

France The Courts of the Princes and Nobles, who were of the Conquering Nations, for several Ages used their *Gothick*, or *Franc*, or *Saxon* Tongues, which were mingled with those of *Germany*, where some of the *Goths* had sojourn'd long, before they proceeded to their Conquests of the more *Southern* or *Western* Parts. Whereever the *Roman* Colonies had long remained and their Language had been generally spoken, the common People used that still, but vitiated with the base alloy of their Provincial Speech. This in *Charlemaign's* time was called in *France*, *Rustica Romana*, and in *Spain*, during the *Gothick* Reigns there, *Romance*, but in *England*, from whence all the *Roman* Souldiers, and great Numbers of the *Britains* most accustomed to their Commerce and Language, had been drained for the Defence of *Gaul* against the barbarous Nations that invaded it about the time of *Valentinian*, that Tongue (being wholly extinguish'd, as well as their own) made way for the intire use of the *Saxon* Language. With these Changes the antient Poetry was wholly lost in all these Countries, and a new sort grew up by degrees, which was called by a new Name of Rhimes, with an easy Change of the *Gothick* Word *Runes*, and not from the *Greek Rythmes*, as is vulgarly supposed.

Runes was properly the Name of the Antient *Gothick* Letters or Characters, which were Invented first or introduced by *Odin*, in the Colony or Kingdom of the *Getes* or *Goths*, which he Planted in the *North-West* Parts and round the *Baltick* Sea, as has been before related. But because all the Writings they had among them for many Ages were in Verse, it came to be the common Name of all sorts of Poetry among the *Goths*, and the Writers or Composers of them were called *Runers*, or *Rymers*. They had likewise another Name for them, or for some sorts of them, which was *Vuses*, or *Wises*; and because the Sages of that Nation expressed the best of their Thoughts, and what Learning and Prudence they had,

in these kind of Writings, they that succeeded best and with most Applause were termed Wise-men, the good Sense or Learning or useful Knowledge contained in them was called Wisdom, and the pleasant or facetious Vein among them was called Wit, which was applied to all Spirit or Race of Poetry, where it was found in any Men, and was generally pleasing to those that heard or read them

Of these *Runes* there were in use among the *Goths* above a hundred several sorts, some Composed in longer, some in 10 shorter Lines, some equal and others unequal, with many different Cadencies, Quantities, or Feet, which in the pronouncing make many different sorts of Original or Natural Tunes Some were Framed with Allusions of Words or Consonance of Syllables or of Letters, either in the same 15 Line, or in the Dystick, or by alternate Succession and Resemblance, which made a sort of Gingle that pleased the ruder Ears of that People. And because their Language was composed most of Monosyllables and of so great Numbers, many must end in the same Sound, another Sort of *Runes* 20 were made with the Care and Study of ending two Lines, or each other of four Lines, with Words of the same sound, which being the easiest, requiring less Art and needing less Spirit, because a certain Chime in the Sounds supplied that want and pleased common Ears, this in time grew the 25 most general among all the *Gothick* Colonies in *Europe*, and made Rhymes or *Runes* pass for the modern Poetry in these Parts of the World

This was not used only in their modern Languages, but, during those ignorant Ages, even in that barbarous 30 *Latin* which remained, and was preserved among the *Monks* and *Priests*, to distinguish them by some shew of Learning from the Laitie, who might well admire it, in what Degree soever, and Reverence the Professors, when they themselves could neither write nor read, even, in

and the rest was but Wild Fire that Sparkled or rather Crackled a while, and soon went out with little Pleasure or Gazing of the Beholders, Those *Runers* who could not raise Admiration by the Spirit of their Poetry endeavoured to do it by another, which was that of Enchantments: This came in to supply the Defect of that sublime and Marvellous, which has been found both in Poetry and Prose among the Learned Antients The *Gothick Runers*, to Gain and Establish the Credit and Admiration of their Rhymes, turned the use of them very much to Incantations and Charms, pretending by them to raise Storms, to Calm the Seas, to cause Terror in their Enemies, to Transport themselves in the Air, to Conjure Spirits, to Cure Diseases, and Stanch Bleeding Wounds, to make Women kind or easy, and Men hard or invulnerable, as one of their most antient *Runers* affirms of himself and his own Atchievements, by Force of these Magical Arms. The Men or Women who were thought to perform such Wonders or Enchantments were, from *Vuses*, or *Wises*, the Name of those Verses wherein their Charms were conceived, called *Wizards* or *Witches*.

Out of this Quarry seem to have been raised all those Trophees of Enchantment that appear in the whole Fabrick of the old *Spanish Romances*, which were the Productions of the *Gothick Wit* among them during their Reign, and after the Conquests of *Spain* by the *Saracens*, they were applied to the long Wars between them and the Christians. From the same perhaps may be derived all the visionary Tribe of *Furies*, *Elves*, and *Goblins*, of *Sprites* and of *Bulbeggars*, that serve not only to fright Children into whatever their Nurses please, but sometimes, by lasting Impressions, to disquiet the sleeps and the very Lives of Men and Women, till they grow to Years of Discretion, and that, God knows, is a Period of time which some People Arrive to but very late, and perhaps others never.

At least, this belief prevailed so far among the *Goths* and their Races, that all sorts of Charms were not only Attributed to their *Runes* or *Veises*, but to their very Characters, so that, about the Eleventh Century, they were forbidden and abolished in *Sweden*, as they had been before in *Spain*,⁵ by Civil and Ecclesiastical Commands or Constitutions, and what has been since recovered of that Learning or Language has been fetcht as far as *Island* it self.

How much of this Kind and of this Credulity remained even to our own Age may be observed by any Man that¹⁰ Reflects, so far as Thirty or Forty Years, how often Avouched, and how generally Credited, were the Stories of *Fairies*, *Sprites*, *Witchcrafts*, and *Enchantments*. In some Parts of *France*, and not longer ago, the common People believed certainly there were *Lougaroos*, or Men turned¹⁵ into Wolves, and I remember several *Irish* of the same mind. The Remanders are woven into our very Language *Mara*, in old *Runick*, was a *Goblin* that seized upon Men asleep in their Beds, and took from them all Speech and Motion, Old *Nicka* was a Sprite that came to strangle²⁰ People who fell into the Water, *Be* was a fierce *Gothick* Captain, Son of *Odin*, whose Name was used by his Soul-diers when they would Fright or Surprise their Enemies, and the Proverb of Rhyming *Rats to Death* came, I suppose, from the same Root²⁵

There were, not longer since than the time I have mentioned, some Remanders of the *Runick* Poetry among the *Irish*. The Great Men of their Septs, among the many Offices of their Family, which continued always in the same Races, had not only a *Physician*, a *Hunts-man*, a *Smith*, and³⁰ such like, but a *Poet* and a *Tale-teller*. The first Recorded and Sung the Actions of their Ancestors, and Entertained the Company at Feasts: The latter Amuzed them with Tales when they were Melancholy and could not sleep.

And a very Gallant Gentleman of the *North of Ireland* has told me of his own Experience, That, in his Wolf-Huntings there, when he used to be abroad in the Mountains three or four Days together, and lay very ill a Nights, so as he could not well sleep, they would bring him one of these *Tale-tellers*, that, when he lay down, would begin a Story of a King, or a Gyant, a Dwarf and a Damosel, and such rambling stuff, and continue it all Night long in such an even Tone that you heard it going on whenever you awaked, and he believed nothing any Physicians give could have so good and so innocent effect, to make Men Sleep in any Pains or Distempers of Body or Mind. I remember, in my youth, some Persons of our Country to have said Grace in Rhymes, and others their constant Prayers, and 'tis vulgar enough that some Deeds or Conveyances of Land have been so since the Conquest.

In such poor wretched Weeds, as these was Poetry clothed, during those shades of Ignorance that overspread all *Europe* for so many Ages after the Sun-set of the *Roman* Learning and Empire together, which were Succeeded by so many New Dominions or Plantations of the *Gothick* Swarms, and by a New Face of Customs, Habit, Language, and almost of Nature But upon the dawn of a New Day, and the Resurrection of other Sciences, with the Two Learned Languages, among us, This of Poetry began to appear very early, tho' very unlike it self, and in shapes as well as Cloaths, in Humor and in Spirit, very different from the Antient It was now all in Rhyme, after the *Gothick* fashion, for indeed none of the several Dialects of that Language or Allay would bear the Composure of such Feet and Measures as were in use among the *Greeks* and *Latins*, and some that attempted it soon left it off, despairing of Success. Yet, in this new Dress, Poetry was not without some Charms, especially those of Grace and Sweetness, and the Oar begun to, shine

in the Hands and Works of the first Refiners *Petrarch*, *Ronsard*, *Spencer* met with much Applause upon the Subjects of Love, Praise, Grief, Reproach *Ariosto* and *Tasso* entred boldly upon the Scene of *Heroick* Poems, but, having not Wings for so high Flights, began to Learn of the old Ones, fell upon their Imitations, and chiefly of *Virgil*, as far as the Force of their Genius or Disadvantage of New Languages and Customs would allow The Religion of the Gentiles had been woven into the Contexture of all the antient Poetry with a very agreeable mixture, which made the Moderns affect to give that of Christianity a place also in their Poems But the true Religion was not found to become Fiction so well as a false had done, and all their Attempts of this kind seemed rather to debase Religion than to heighten Poetry *Spencer* endeavoured to Supply this with Morality, and to make Instruction instead of Story the Subject of an *Epic* Poem His Execution was Excellent, and his Flights of Fancy very Noble and High, but his Design was Poor, and his Moral lay so bare that it lost the Effect: 'tis true, the Pill was Gilded, but so thin that the Colour and the Taste were too easily discovered.

After these three, I know none of the Moderns that have made any Atchievements in *Heroick* Poetry worth Recording. The Wits of the Age soon left off such bold Adventures, and turned to other Veins, as if, not worthy to sit down at the Feast, they contented themselves with the Scraps, with Songs and Sonnets, with Odes and Elegies, with Satyrs and Panegyricks, and what we call Copies of Verses upon any Subjects or Occasions, wanting either Genius or Application for Nobler or more Laborious Productions, as *Painters* that cannot Succeed in great Pieces turn to Miniature.

But the modern Poets, to value this small Coyn, and make it pass, tho' of so much a baser Metal than the old, gave it

a New Mixture from Two Veins which were little known or little esteemed among the Ancients. There were indeed certain *Fairyes* in the old Regions of Poetry, called *Epigrams*, which seldom reached above the Stature of Two or Four or 5 Six Lines, and which, Being so short, were all turned upon Conceit, or some sharp Hits of Fancy or Wit. The only Ancient of this kind among the *Latins* were the *Priapeia*, which were little Voluntaries or Extemporaries Written upon the ridiculous Woodden Statues of *Priapus* among the 10 Gardens of *Rome*. In the decays of the *Roman* Learning and Wit as well as Language, *Martial*, *Ausonius*, and others fell into this Vein, and applied it indifferently to all Subjects, which was before Restrained to one, and Drest it something more cleanly than it was Born. This Vein of Conceit seemed 15 proper for such Scraps or Splinters into which Poetry was broken, and was so eagerly followed, as almost to over-run all that was Composed in our several modern Languages. The *Italian*, the *French*, the *Spanish*, as well as *English*, were for a great while full of nothing else but Conceit. It 20 was an Ingredient that gave Taste to Compositions which had little of themselves, 'twas a Sauce that gave Point to Meat that was Flat, and some Life to Colours that were Fading; and, in short, those who could not furnish Spirit supplied it with this Salt, which may preserve Things or 25 Bodys that are Dead, but is, for ought I know, of little use to the 'Living, or necessary to Meats that have much or pleasing Tasts of their own. However it were, this Vein first over-flowed our modern Poetry, and with so little Distinction or Judgment that we would have Conceit as well 30 as Rhyme in every Two Lines, and run through all our long Scribbles as well as the short, and the whole Body of the Poem, whatever it is. This was just as if a Building should be nothing but Ornament, or Cloaths nothing but Trimming; as if a Face should be covered over with black

Patches, or a Gown with Spangles, which is all I shall say of it

Another Vein which has entred and helpt to Corrupt our modern Poesy is that of Ridicule, as if nothing pleased but what made one Laugh, which yet come from Two very different Affections of the Mind, for as Men have no Disposition to Laugh at things they are most pleased with, so they are very little pleased with many things they Laught at.

But this mistake is very geneial, and such modern Poets as found no better way of pleasing thought they could not fail of it by Ridiculing This was Encouraged by finding Conversation run so much into the same Vein, and the Wits in Vogue to take up with that Part of it which was formerly left to those that were called Fools, and were used in great Families only to make the Company Laugh What Opinion is the Romans had of this Character appears in those Lines of Horace

—*Absentem qui odit amicum,
Qui non defendit alio culpante, solutos
Qui captat risus hominum fumamque dicacis,* 20
*Fingere qui non visa potest, Commissu tacere
Qui nequit, Hic Niger est, Hunc tu, Romane, caveto,*

And 'tis pity the Character of a Wit in one Age should be so like that of a Black in another.

Rablarus seems to have been Father of the Ridicule, a Man of Excellent and Universal Learning as well as Wit, and tho' he had too much Game given him for *Satyr* in that Age, by the Customs of Courts and of Convents, of Processes and of Wars, of Schools and of Camps, of Romances and Legends, Yet he must be Confest to have kept up his Vein of Ridicule so by saying many things so Malicious, so Smutty, and so Prophane, that either a Prudent, a Modest, or a Pious Man could not have afforded, tho' he had never so much of that Coyn about him, and it were to be wished that the Wits

who have followed his Vein had not put too much Value upon a Diess that better Understandings would not wear, at least in publick, and upon a compass they gave themselves which other Men would not take The Matchless Witer of
 5 *Don Quixot* is much more to be admired for having made up so excellent a Composition of Satyr or Ridicule without those Ingredients, and seems to be the best and highest Strain that ever was or will be reached by that Vein.

It began first in Verse with an *Italian* Poem, called *La*
 10 *Secchia Rapita*, was pursued by *Scarron* in *French* with his *Virgil* Travesty, and in *English* by Sir *John Mince*, *Hudibras*, and *Cotton*, and with greater height of *Burlesque* in the *English*, than, I think, in any other Language. But let the Execution be what it will, the Design, the Custom, and
 15 Example are very pernicious to Poetry, and indeed to all Virtue and Good Qualities among Men, which must be disheartened by finding how unjustly and undistinguish't they fall under the lash of Raillery, and this Vein of Ridiculing the Good as well as the Ill, the Guilty and the Innocent
 20 together. 'Tis a very poor tho' common Pretence to merit, to make it appear by the Faults of other Men. A mean Wit or Beauty may pass in a Room, where the rest of the Company are allowed to have none, 'tis something to sparkle among Diamonds, but to shine among Pebbles is
 25 neither Credit nor Value worth the pretending.

Besides these two Veins brought in to supply the Defects of the modern Poetry, much Application has been made to the Smoothness of Language or Style, which has at the best but the Beauty of Colouring in a Picture, & can never make
 30 a good one without Spirit and Strength. The Academy set up by Cardinal *Richieu* to amuse the Wits of that Age and Country, and divert them from taking into his Politicks and Ministry, brought this in Vogue; and the *French* Wits have for this last Age been in a manner wholly turned to the

Refinement of their Language, and indeed with such Success that it can hardly be excelled, and runs equally through their Verse and their Prose. The same Vein has been likewise much Cultivated in our modern *English* Poetry, and by such poor Recruits have the broken Forces of this Empire been of late made up, with what Success, I leave to be judged by such as consider it in the former Heights and the present Declines both of Power and of Honour, but this will not discourage, however it may affect, the true Lovers of this Mistriss, who must ever think her a Beauty in Rags as well as in Robes

Among these many Decays, there is yet one sort of Poetry that seems to have succeeded much better with our Moderns than any of the rest, which is *Dramatick*, or that of the Stage. In this the *Italian*, the *Spanish*, and the *French* have all had their different Merit, and received their just Applauses. Yet I am deceived if our *English* has not in some kind excelled both the Modern and the Antient, which has been by Force of a Vein Natural perhaps to our Country, and which with us is called Humour, a Word peculiar to our Language too, and hard to be expressed in any other, nor is it, that I know of, found in any Foreign Writers, unless it be *Moliere*, and yet his it self has too much of the Faice to pass for the same with ours. *Shakespear* was the first that opened this Vein upon our Stage, which has run so freely and so pleasantly ever since, that I have often wondered to find it appear so little upon any others, being a Subject so proper for them, since Humour is, but a Picture of particular Life, as Comedy is of general, and tho' it represents Dispositions and Customs less common, yet they are not less natural than those that are more frequent among Men, for if Humour it self be forced, it loses all the Grace; which has been indeed the Fault of some of our Poets most Celebrated in this kind.

It may seem a Defect in the antient Stage that the Characters introduced were so few, and those so common, as a Covetous Old Man, an Amorous Young, a Witty Wench, a Crafty Slave, a Bragging Soldier. The Spectators met
5 nothing upon the Stage, but what they met in the Streets and at every Turn. All the Variety is drawn only from different and uncommon Events, whereas if the Characters are so too, the Diversity and the Pleasure must needs be the more. But as of most general Customs in a Country
10 there is usually some Ground from the Nature of the People or the Clymat, so there may be^a amongst us for this Vein of our Stage, and a greater variety of Humor in the Picture, because there is a greater variety in the Life. This may proceed from the Native Plenty of our Soyl, the unequal-
15 ness of our Clymat, as well as the Ease of our Government, and the Liberty of Professing Opinions and Factions, which perhaps our Neighbours may have about them, but are forced to disguise, and thereby they may come in time to be extinguish'd. Plenty begets Wantonness and Pride: Want-
20 tonness is apt to invent, and Pride scorns to imitate. Liberty begets Stomach or Heart, and Stomach will not be Constrained. Thus we come to have more Originals, and more that appear what they are; we have more Humour, because every Man follows his own, and takes a Pleasure, perhaps a
25 Pride, to shew it.

On the contrary, where the People are generally poor, and forced to hard Labour, their Actions and Lives are all of a Piece; where they serve hard Masters, they must follow his Examples as well as Commands, and are forced
30 upon Imitation in small Matters as well as Obedience in great: So that some Nations look as if they were cast all by one Mould, or Cut out all by one Pattern,—at least the common People in one, and the Gentlemen in another; They seem all of a sort in their Habits, their Customs, and

even their Talk and Conversation, as well as in the Application and Pursuit of their Actions and their Lives.

Besides all this, there is another sort of Variety amongst us, which arises from our Clymat, and the Dispositions it Naturally produces We are not only more unlike one 5, another than any Nation I know, but we are more unlike our selves too at several times, and owe to our very Air some ill Qualities as well as many good We may allow some Distempers Incident to our Clymat, since so much Health, Vigor, and Length of Life have been generally 10 Ascribed to it, for among the *Greek* and *Roman* Authors themselves, we shall find the *Britains* observed to Live the longest, and the *Agyptians* the shortest, of any Nations that were known in those Ages Besides, I think none will Dispute the Native Courage of our Men and Beauty of our 15 Women, which may be elsewhere as great in Particulars, but no where so in General, they may be (what is said of Diseases) as Acute in other Places, but with us they are Epidemical For my own Part, who have Conversed much with Men of other Nations, and such as have been both in 20 great Employments and Esteem, I can say very impartially that I have not observed among any so much true Genius as among the *English*: No where more Sharpness of Wit, more Pleasantness of Humour, more Range of Fancy, more Penetration of Thought or Depth of Reflection among the 25 better Sort: No where more Goodness of Nature and of Meaning, nor more Plainness of Sense and of Life than among the common Sort of Country People, no more blunt Courage and Honesty than among our Sea-men.

But, with all this, our Country must be confest to be 30 what a great Foreign Physitian called it, The Region of Spleen, which may arise a good deal from the great uncertainty and many suddain Changes of our Weather in all Seasons of the Year. And how much these Affect the Heads

nad Hearts, especially of the finest Tempers, is hard to be Believed by Men whose Thoughts are not turned to such Speculations. This makes us unequal in our Humours, inconstant in our Passions, uncertain in our Ends, and even 5 in our Desires. Besides, our different Opinions in Religion, and the Factions they have Raised or Animated for Fifty Years past, have had an ill Effect upon our Manners and Customs, inducing more Avarice, Ambition, Disguise, with the usual Consequences of them, than were before in our 10 Constitution. From all this it may happen that there is no where more true Zeal in the many different Forms of Devotion, and yet no where more Knavery under the Shews and Pretences. There are no where so many Disputers upon Religion, so many Reasoners upon Government, so many 15 Refiners in Politicks, so many Curious Inquisitives, so many Pretenders to Business and State-Employments, greater Pores upon Books, nor Plodders after Wealth. And yet no where more Abandoned Libertines, more refined Luxurists, Extravagant Debauches, Conceited Gallants, more Dabblers 20 in Poetry as well as Politicks, in Philosophy, and in Chymistry. I have had several Servants far gone in Divinity, others in Poetry, have known, in the Families of some Friends, a Keeper deep in the *Rosycruca* Principles, and a Laundress firm in those of *Epicurus*. What effect soever 25 such a Composition or Medley of Humours among us may have upon our Lives or our Government, it must needs have a good one upon our Stage, and has given admirable Play to our Comical Wits. So that in my Opinion there is no Vein of that sort, either Antient or Modern, which Excels 30 or Equals the Humour of our Plays. And for the rest, I cannot but observe, (to) the Honour of our Country, that the good Qualities amongst us seem to be Natural, and the ill ones more Accidental, and such as would be easily Changed by the Examples of Princes, and by the Precept of 'Laws.'

such, I mean, as should be Designed to Form Manners, to Restrain Excesses, to Encourage Industry, to Prevent Mens Expences beyond their Fortunes, to Countenance Virtue, and Raise that True Esteem due to Plain Sense and Common Honesty.

5

But to Spin off this Thread which is already Grown too long: What Honour and Request the antient Poetry has Lived in may not only be Observed from the Universal Reception and Use in all Nations from *China* to *Peru*, from *Scythia* to *Arabia*, but from the Esteem of the Best and the 10 Greatest Men as well as the Vulgar Among the *Hebrews*, *David* and *Solomon*, the Wisest Kings, *Job* and *Jeremiah*, the Holiest Men, were the best Poets of their Nation and Language. Among the *Greeks*, the Two most renowned Sages and Law-givers were *Lycurgus* and *Solon*, whereof 15 the Last is known to have excelled in Poetry, and the first was so great a Lover of it, That to his Care and Industry we are said by some Authors to owe the Collection and Preservation of the loose and scattered Pieces of *Homer* in the Order wherein they have since appeared. 20 *Alexander* is reported neither to have Travelled nor Slept without those admirable Poems always in his Company *Phalaris* that was Inexorable to all other Enemies, Relented at the Charms of *Stesichorus* his Muse. Among the *Romans*, the Last and Great *Scipio* passed the soft Hours of 25 his Life in the Conversation of *Terence*, and was thought to have a Part in the composition of his Comedies. *Cæsar* was an Excellent Poet as well as Orator, and Composed a Poem in his Voyage from *Rome* to *Spain*, Relieving the Tedious Difficulties of his March with the Entertainments 30 of his Muse *Augustus* was not only a Patron, but a Friend and Companion of *Virgil* and *Horace*, and was himself both an Admirer of Poetry and a pretender too, as far as his Genius would reach or his busy Scene allow. 'Tis

true, since his Age we have few such Examples of great Princes favouring or affecting Poetry, and as few perhaps of great Poets deserving it. Whether it be that the fierceness of the *Gothick* Humors, or Noise of their perpetual Wars, frighted it away, or that the unequal mixture of the Modern Languages would not bear it, Certain it is, That the great Heighth and Excellency both of Poetry and Musick fell with the *Roman* Learning and Empire, and have never since recovered the Admiration and Applauses that before attended them. Yet such as they are amongst us, they must be confest to be the Softest and Sweetest, the most General and most Innocent Amusements of common Time and Life. They still find Room in the Courts of Princes and the Cottages of Shepherds. They serve to Revive and Animate the dead Calm of poor or idle Lives, and to Allay or Divert the violent Passions and Perturbations of the greatest and the busiest Men. And both these Effects are of equal use to Humane Life; for the Mind of Man is like the Sea, which is neither agreeable to the Beholder nor the Voyager in a Calm or in a Storm, but is so to both when a little Agitated by gentle Gales, and so the Mind, when moved by soft and easy Passions or Affections. I know very well that many, who pretend to be Wise by the Forms of being Grave, are apt to despise both Poetry and Musick as Toys and trifles too light for the Use or Entertainment of serious Men. But whoever find themselves wholly insensible to these Charms would, I think, do well to keep their own Counsel, for fear of Reproaching their own Temper, and bringing the Goodness of their Natures, if not of their Understandings, into Question. It may be thought at least an ill Sign, if not an ill Constitution, since some of the Fathers went so far as to esteem the Love of Musick a Sign of Predestination, as a thing Divine, and Reserved for the Felicities of Heaven it self. While this

World lasts, I doubt not but the Pleasure and Request of these Two Entertainments will do so too, and happy those that content themselves with these or any other so Easy and so Innocent, and do not trouble the World or other Men, because they cannot be quiet themselves, though no body hurts them !

When all is done, Human Life is, at the greatest and the best, but like a floward Child, that must be Play'd with and Humor'd a little to keep it quiet till it falls asleep, and then the Game is over

NOTES

On Ancient and Modern Learning

Page 1.

1. 1. *Converses among*.—Derivation sense, *mores among, as familiar with*.

1. 10. *Wit*.—In the old general sense of *ability*.

1. 20. *One in English upon the antediluvian world—The Sacred Theory of the Earth* (1684-89), by Thomas Burnet (1635-1715), was an English translation of his *Telluris Theoria Sacra*, in which he propounded a curious theory of the structure of the earth. Burnet was at one time senior proctor of Cambridge University.

1. 21. *Another in French upon the Plurality of Worlds—Entretiens sur la Pluralité des Mondes* (1686), *Discourse on the Plurality of Worlds*, by Fontenelle (1657-1757), a French advocate, philosopher and poet. It was translated into English in 1688, and maintained that planets and stars were populous worlds. Fontenelle has been called "one of the last of the Précieux," a more than euphuistic coterie who carried to absurd lengths affectation of learning, speech and behaviour. The ladies of the group are satirised in Molière's *Les Précieuses Ridicules*. Fontenelle, however, had a tremendous reputation, and Voltaire considered him the most versatile genius of his time.

Page 2.

1. 5. *A small piece concerning poetry*.—Fontenelle's *Poésies Pastorelles, Pastoral Poems*, (1688) contained, besides the poems, an essay in which he exalted modern above ancient poetry.

1. 14. *Sufficiency*.—Self-sufficiency, conceit.

1. 27. *At a rate, at one rate*: *much at a rate* means *closely corresponding*.

Page 3.

1. 2. *The Library of Ptolemy*.—The great library and museum at Alexandria founded by Ptolemy I (Ptolemy Soter),

who ruled in Egypt at the end of the fourth century B C, but more famous under his successor, Ptolemy II (Ptolemy Philadelphus), who was a great patron of literature

l. 4 *Originals*—Original writers

l. 12 *Voluminous*—A curious punning use of the word, with suggestion of *volume*=*book* as well as *abundance*

l. 16 *Original*—Origin

l. 22 *The fragments of Manethon*—He was an Egyptian priest and historian, who lived during the reign of Ptolemy Philadelphus, and whose great work was a history of Egypt written in Greek. The fragments of this which have survived have served as foundation for our scheme of the Egyptian dynasties

l. 23 *Justin*—Justinian probably lived in the reign of the Roman emperor Antoninus Pius, which began A D 138. His *History*, in 44 books, is an epitome of that (now lost) of Trogus Pompeius, a historian who lived in Rome during the rule of Augustus. Though somewhat careless, it gives much interesting information about the Scythians and other races.

l. 24 *Herodotus*—See note on p. 34, l. 26.

Diodorus Siculus—A great historian who lived in the time of Cæsar and Augustus. He aimed at producing a history of mankind from the beginning to his own day, and wrote 40 books, of which 15 survive. Like Justinian's, his work is unreliable but valuable in giving material not to be found elsewhere.

l. 26. *The periods of time.... Holy Scriptures*—Bible chronology, in Temple's day, assigned the creation of the world to the year 4,004 B C

l. 30 *Solomon tells us.*—Ecclesiastes, XII. 12

l. 33. *Moses.*—The great Jewish lawgiver

Page 4.

l. 1. *Yet he speaks*, etc.—Job says, "With the ancient is wisdom; and in length of days understanding" (XII. 12), but he is referring to the wisdom of old age, not of "the ancients."

Page 5

l. 18. *Colledges.*—The word *college* properly means a *society*.

1 23 *Orpheus*.—Orphism was a kind of mysticism resembling the Thracian Dionysus-worship, and was practised by a school that flourished in Athens at an early period. Orpheus (perhaps to be distinguished from the poet Orpheus in Greek mythology) was the mythical founder of this school.

1 24 *Lycurgus* (390-329 B.C.), a great Athenian orator and statesman. Only one of his orations survives, but he was instrumental in preserving the plays of the great tragic dramatists Aeschylus, Sophocles and Euripides. He is to be distinguished from the more famous Lycurgus, the Spartan lawgiver.

Pythagoras (sixth century B.C.) was born in Samos. He travelled in Greece, Egypt and Asia (he may have visited India), and eventually settled at Croton in southern Italy, where he established a school. He held the doctrine of metempsychosis (transmigration of souls), and seems to have based his philosophic method on the doctrine that the essential principle of the universe was that of number, but the details of his philosophy, as of his life, are very obscure. Pythagoras and his immediate followers seem to have been rather mystics than systematic philosophers, and Temple ascribes to Pythagoras himself philosophic conceptions really evolved by the later Pythagoreans.

Plato.—See note on p. 34, 1 27

Page 6.

1 19. *Hippocrates* —Hippocrates (circ. 460—circ. 357 B.C.), a famous Greek physician, associated with the doctrine of humours.

Marcus Antoninus —See note on p. 3, 1 23.

1 27. *Thales*, born at Miletus, in Ionia, circ. 640 B.C. He was the most notable of the "Seven Wise Men," whose aphorisms were inscribed in the temple of Apollo at Delphi. The aphorism of Thales there inscribed was, "Suretyship brings ruin." He was the founder of abstract geometry, was a famous astronomer (he was said to have predicted the total solar eclipse which took place on May 28, 585 B.C.), and has been called "the father of Greek philosophy." He held that all things had their origin in a single element, moisture. Probably

he learnt much from the Egyptians and the orientals, especially in astronomy.

1 29. *Out of which*, etc —Thales' school, which is called sometimes the Ionic and sometimes the Milesian School, the other famous members of which were Anaximander and Anaximenes, exercised considerable influence upon the doctrines of Heraclitus, Xenophanes and Anaxagoras, thus profoundly influencing later Greek philosophers. Socrates, for instance, learnt much from Anaxagoras, who was the pioneer of philosophy in Athens. The Italian School of Pythagoras greatly influenced the philosophy of Plato, and the astronomical theory of the later Pythagoreans was adopted in a modified form by both Plato and Aristotle and "later became the basis of the Ptolemaic system of astronomy. This system was the scientifically accepted system for fifteen hundred years, when it was supplanted by the Newtonian theory. It is a most singular fact that the cosmological background of the epics of Dante and Milton is the astronomical system of the Pythagoreans as expressed in the Ptolemaic system." (H E Cushman, *A Beginner's History of Philosophy*, II 49)

Page 7.

1 4 *The four cardinal virtues* —These, as expounded by Plato, are temperance, courage, wisdom, and justice. One wonders whether Pythagoras did have this conception. At all events it is to be remembered that he was essentially a religious and ethical teacher.

1 7. *Golden verses* —No doubt these are spurious. It should be noted that these philosophic utterances assigned by erring tradition to Pythagoras were in *verse*. In early times verse, which developed much earlier than prose, was the medium of *all* literary communication, as in the didactic epic of Hesiod, the *Works and Days*, which was largely an agricultural handbook. Most of the didactic epics were religious or philosophical. Hesiod's *Theogony* traces the origin of the world and the birth of the Gods. Xenophanes (6th and 5th century B. C.) and Parmenides (5th century) both wrote poems *On Nature*, though neither was much of a poet. Sometimes less elaborate verse-forms were adopted for didactic utterance—for instance, the gnomes of the Seven Wise Men and the elegiac

verses in which Solon propounded political doctrines and Theognis his maxims of practical philosophy. (See Gilbert Murray, *Literature of Ancient Greece*, Chapter III) Cf. Temple's essay *Of Poetry*, p 54 ff.

l 9 *Sybls*—The word is properly spelt *sybils* These were female devotees of Apollo, and were supposed to prophesy under his inspiration

l 32 *Musæus*—A poet and priest in Greek mythology Many oracular utterances were ascribed to him, and a collection of these was made in the time of the Peisistradae

Thales—See note on p. 6, l 27. He was said to have travelled in Egypt

Solon (circ 638—circ 558 B C), the great Athenian law-giver After obtaining from the Athenians a promise that they would maintain his laws for a certain time he travelled, apparently, in Egypt, Cyprus, and Lydia.

l 33 *Democritus*, a Greek scientist and philosopher, born about 460 B. C at Abdera in Thrace, travelled, in search of knowledge, in Europe, Africa, and Asia. With Leucippus, he was the founder of the Atomic Theory of the universe. See note on p. 13, l 27.

l 34 *Apollonius* of Tyana (a city of Cappadocia in Asia Minor), who was born just before the Christian era, is the best known of the neo-Pythagoreans, a semi-religious sect whose doctrines were a development of Pythagoreanism He considered himself an emissary of God possessing prophetic vision, and miracles were ascribed to him Philostratus wrote a famous biography of him, full of marvellous stories Before opening a school at Ephesus he travelled widely both in Europe and in Asia, and even visited India Temple gives no credence to the powers ascribed to Apollonius

Page 8. .

l 4. *Two and twenty years*, etc—Temple is much more precise in his account of Pythagoras than is justified by the nature of the records.

l 17 *Oracles*.—Most ancient nations possessed places, called oracles, where a deity was supposed to answer questions through an inspired votary. (The word is used also for the

answer given) The most famous oracle was that of Apollo at Delphi

1. 22 *Indian Brahmins*—Temple takes his account of the Brahmins largely from Strabo, a Greek geographer and historian (c. 63 B C—c. 25 A D) Strabo was largely indebted to Megasthenes, who was the ambassador of Seleucus Nicator, King of Syria, at the court of Chandragupta, the Mauryan emperor. Megasthenes proceeded to India about 302 B C, and according to Solinus (a Roman compiler of the 3rd century A D) "dwelt for some time with Indian kings, and wrote a History of India, that he might hand down to posterity a faithful account of what he saw there" This work, which is now extant only in the citations of Strabo and others, is generally considered fairly reliable so far as it deals with matters of the author's own observation. While certain later writers give a fuller account of Brahman philosophy Megasthenes mentions certain of the points referred to by Temple. He "notes the similarity between the speculations of the Brahmins and the teachings of Pythagoras and Plato, he speaks also of their physical speculations, and their belief that the world is spherical, liable to destruction, and permeated by the presence of the Deity." (H. G. Rawlinson, *Intercourse between India and the Western World*, Chap. III, p. 61)

1. 29 *For when a woman, etc*—"A good example of the out-of-the-way information gleaned by Megasthenes is given by Strabo, XV I 59 'The Brahmins from the time of conception in the womb are under the care of learned men who go to the mother with incantations for the welfare of herself and her offspring.' Here is a clear reference to the Purn-Savana and Garbha-Rakshana of the Grihya Sutras." (*Ibid* footnote Mr Rawlinson refers to Barnett, *Indian Antiq.*, Chap. IV)

Page 9.

1. 8 *Unwritten*—"Laws, religious precept, even secular poetry were committed to memory and handed down orally." (Rawlinson, p. 60.)

1. 17 *Those of Plato*.—In the *Phaedo* Plato gives an account of the underworld. It is intended as a *myth*—not to be literally believed in. See J. A. Stewart, *The Myths of Plato*, p. 77 ff.

Page 10.

1. 2 *Calanus*.—An ancient Hindu philosopher, who spent some time with Alexander the Great in India, and is said to have prophesied Alexander's death. He was one of those who, in sickness, chose to die (see p 10, l. 16). On falling ill he was burnt alive at his own request.

1. 27 *Baniams*—A caste of Hindu traders

Page 11.

1. 12. *Stygian lake*—in the underworld.

Charon.—The ferryman who, in Greek mythology, conveyed the souls of the dead to the lower world.

The infernal judges.—The three judges in the lower world, Æacus, Minos and Rhadamanthus.

1. 24 *The Ethiopians*—Æthiopia was a country to the south of Egypt

1. 29 *The Phœnicians*—Probably the Phœnicians did originally come from the coasts of the Red Sea or the Persian Gulf, and were of the Semitic race. They colonised certain islands of the Mediterranean, Rhodes for example, the coast of the Nile Delta, and part of the coasts of Asia Minor and of Spain. Carthage was then most famous African settlement. But they chiefly established themselves in the narrow strip of coast land between the Mediterranean coast of Palestine and the mountains. This was called by their name, and there were built their famous trading cities of Tyre and Sidon. Besides taking the lead in merchandise and shipping, they were workers in gold, silver etc, and the Greeks not only learnt such arts from them but also based their alphabet on that of the Phœnicians

Page 12.

1. 11. *Septuagint*.—This is the oldest Greek translation of the Hebrew Scriptures, i.e., broadly, the *Old Testament*, and "was the version used by the Alexandrian Jews and the early Christian writers" (*Helps to the Study of the Bible*, O. U. P.). Its chronology differs greatly from that of the "Authorised Version" prepared in James I's time and still in most general use among Protestants. In the words "the vulgar chronology of the scripture" Temple alludes to the period indicated in

the "Authorised Version" between the creation of the world and the birth of Christ—4,004 years (*Vulgar* means *commonly accepted*.) The Septuagint places the creation of the world much earlier. By "Authorised Version" chronology the period from the creation of Adam to the Flood is 1656 years, and by that of the Septuagint 2,242 years, while similarly the periods indicated from the Flood to the entrance of Abraham into Canaan are respectively 427 and 1307 years

Save the appearances—Save appearances, *i.e.* allow the accuracy of the Chinese records

1. 16. *One of their kings*—Shi Hwang-ti (third century B C), who beheaded hundreds of scholars and ordered the destruction of all books except those on the practical sciences. He desired to destroy the feudal system, of which the scholars were the chief supporters.

1. 32 *Socrates* was born in B. C. 469.

1. 33 *Confutius*—Confucius (551-478 B C), the greatest of Chinese sages, was also an administrator and practical reformer, but later fell into disfavour and persecution, and wandered with his disciples from place to place. Being eventually allowed to return to his native place, he devoted himself to collecting and interpreting ancient Chinese writings and to the composition of his *Ch'un Ch'iu*, a history of his native province of Lu from 722 to 481 B. C.—the only fully authenticated work of his that survives. He was the first Chinese historian. Soon after his death, his disciples made a collection, which survives and seems reliable, of his teachings. Though he was religious in temper and outlook, his teachings are practical rather than religious. He avoided speculation as to the unseen, but his moral precepts found their way into all the classical Chinese writings and have been of incalculable influence among his countrymen. We quote three of them—"What the superior man seeks is in himself, what the small seeks is in others" "What you do not like when done to yourself do not do to others" "While you cannot serve men, how can you serve spirits?" Like other prophets, he met with neglect and persecution in his life, but he became recognised, immediately after his death, as a great teacher, and it is ordained by Chinese law that there shall be temples to him throughout the empire—even in every market-town.

Page 13

1. 14 *Epicurus* (342-270 B. C.), the founder of the Epicurean school of philosophy, was a native of Attica. See note on ll. 27 and 28

1. 15 *Lycurgus* (probably 9th century B. C.), the great Spartan legislator. The record of his life is uncertain, but tradition declares that before the time of his legislative work he travelled to Crete (where he studied the laws of Minos), to Ionia, Egypt, Libya, Iberia, and India

1. 23. *The long silence*—Among the ascetic observances enjoined by Pythagoras upon his disciples was that of maintaining silence for certain periods, and during the probation of those who sought admission to his brotherhood their power of silence was tested

1. 25. *Abstinence from life*—Vegetarianism would proceed naturally from belief in the doctrine of transmigration of souls.

1. 27 *The eternity of matter: form*—The Atomic Theory of Democritus, essentially adopted by Epicurus, was that all things consisted of innumerable atoms. These were uncreated and indestructible,—hence “eternity of matter.” But all things change except of course the atoms themselves—thus there is incessant change in the *forms* into which the atoms are combined.

1. 28 *The indolence of body and tranquility of mind*—Epicurus was essentially an ethical teacher, the essence of his teaching being that pleasure is *the good*, though it must be remembered that he insisted on the superiority of *mental* pleasures. The negative side of this doctrine is that pain is *the evil*, and thus Epicurus taught that men should guard themselves against pain by refusing to allow unpleasant external influences to disturb them. Supreme happiness consisted, in his view, in a state of *ataraxia, repose* (literally, *undisturbedness*), though the greater the pleasure that could thus tranquilly be enjoyed the greater the happiness.

Page 14

1. 1. *Wholly Indian*.—A purely fanciful statement, not supported by modern research or by ancient tradition.

1 13. *Gauls*—Gaul was the name of France in ancient times

Goths—The Goths were a Teutonic people, coming originally from northern Europe, who by the third century A D founded an empire on the northern coast of the Black Sea. They soon became formidable enemies of the Romans, and they played an important part in the overthrow of the Roman Empire

1. 15. *Druids*—The Druids were a priestly caste among the Celts of ancient Britain and Gaul.

Amautas—The Aymaras, a tribe of South American Indians, inhabited, in early times, part of the borderland of Peru. They seem to have been conquered by the Peruvian Incas (perhaps about 1,000 A D), and the civilisation of the latter seems to have been largely due to the Aymaras. These continued to live among the Incas, and were well treated by them: no doubt they were particularly revered.

Runers—Runes were letters used in ancient times by certain Teutonic peoples, and the runers were the class of people to which the knowledge of runes was limited

1 24 *Tartars*.—The word has been applied to various races, but Temple may be thinking mainly of the soldiers of Mongolian and Turkish origin who composed the army of Genghis Khan, a Mongol Emperor (1162-1227). He had an amazing career of continuous conquest, and established his rule from the Yellow Sea to the Dnieper

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1. 3. *Seven Sages*—The "Seven Wise Men" see note on p. 6, l. 27

Croesus (6th century B. C.), King of Lydia. "The fame of his power and wealth drew to his court at Sardis all the wise men of Greece." (Smith *Classical Dictionary*)

1. 4. *Sophists*.—Here used in the general, derivation sense of *wise men, philosophers*

1. 13. *Xenophon*.—See note on p. 34, l. 27

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1. 15 *Ninus and Semiramis*.—Ninus was the legendary founder of the city of Ninus or Nineveh, about B. C. 2182, and

of the Assyrian empire Semiramis was his wife and herself a warrior' on his death she succeeded him

1 16. *Alexander the Great* (356-323 B. C.), the Macedonian king and world conqueror, and one of the world's greatest military leaders

Tamerlane, or Timur Beg, (1335-1405 A. D.), Sultan of Samarkand, a province of Russian Central Asia, was celebrated both for conquest and for cruelty. He conquered Turkestan, Persia, Georgia and Armenia, defeated an Indian army near Delhi, and even took Smyrna, and when he died he was marching against the Chinese. He is the hero of Marlowe's play, *Tamburlaine*

1 29. *Aristotle*—See note on p 34, l. 27.

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1 1. *Parcels*—*Portions*

1 11. *Distant*, etc—"The creator declared to them, at then birth, whatever it was their lot to know."

1 20 *Pretend to modern knowledge*—Claim on its behalf.

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1 29. *Lucretius* (first century B. C.), a great Roman poet, whose work, *De Rerum Natura* (*On Nature*), is a didactic poem expounding, sometimes in magnificent and passionate poetry, the Epicurean philosophy. Temple is referring to the rapturous address to Epicurus with which Book III begins

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1 2 *Stag's head at Amboise*.—Amboise is an historic French town on the River Loire Evelyn visited it and says that in the ancient chapel of its castle "is a stag's head or branches, hung up by chayns, consisting of twenty brow antlers, the beame bigger than a man's middle, and of an incredible length" (*Diary*, May 2, 1644) (*Beame* means *greatest breadth*.)

1 3. Professor Spingarn notes that this table has been identified by M. Pierre de Nolhac as a decorated sixteenth century table once the property of Anne de Montmorency (the first Duc de Montmorency, 1493-1576 he became Marshal and Constable of France)

Vine-stock—The trunk of a vine.

l 25 *Wit.*—Talent, ability.

l 32 *Painting.*—It is of course pure bravado on Temple's part to suggest—and as a matter beyond dispute!—that mediaeval and renaissance artists were excelled by those of ancient times. There is little to go upon, but the art of painting seems to have advanced comparatively little among the Greeks and the Romans

Page 20.

l 4 *Chaldaea*—The word is of very varied application, and probably is here equivalent to *Babylonia*, which was a plain country watered by the Tigris and the Euphrates. The Babylonian and Egyptian civilisations were the oldest in the world

l 9 *Civil*—Refined, cultured

l 10 *Syria.*—Used loosely to suggest the region dominated by Babylonian civilisation during the Babylonian supremacy, for Syria (the country between the Mediterranean and the Tigris) became part of the Babylonian empire

l 26. *Is sand.*—Norwegian records of the period referred to are mostly fabulous

l 30. *Scutes and Danes*—We imagine that by *Scutes* Temple means *Scyths*, *Scythians*. Irish legend states that at a very early period a Scythian people called the Nemedians invaded Ireland, though unsuccessfully, and that later, but still very early, another Scythian people, the Milesians, conquered Ireland and gave it a line of kings that reigned to the 12th century.—The Norsemen invaded Ireland at various times from about the end of the 8th century, and in some of these invasions the Danes took part

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l 1. *Low-Country*—The Netherlands (Holland).

l 12 *Alexandrian library*—See note on p. 3, l 2.

l 16. *Septuagints.*—For *Septuagint* see note on p. 12, l 11. According to a legend, now discredited, the Septuagint translation was the work of 72 men; hence the name (*septuaginta* is Latin for *seventy*). Thus *Septuagints* here means the seventy translators.

1. 29. *Civilization*—Culture.

1 31 *Saracens*—Arabs—but including the Moors mentioned at p 22, l 8 The reference is to the Arabian conquests of Egypt, North Africa, Palestine, and the Spanish Peninsula, leading to a strong and flourishing empire which began to be dismembered in the 16th century Literature flourished greatly, particularly 'in the reigns of two Caliphs of the Abbasside dynasty, Harun al-Raschid (the Caliph of the *Arabian Nights*) and Mamun In the reign of the latter (813-833) "colleges and libraries were founded, and works on astronomy, mathematics, metaphysics, natural philosophy and medicine were translated from the Sanscrit and Greek into Arabic" (*Everyman Encyclopaedia, Abbasides*).

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1 7. *Almanzor*, Abu Jaffar Abdallah, (712-755 A.D.) was the second caliph of the Abbasside dynasty

1 8 *Moors*—A composite north African race They were conquered and converted to Mahommedanism by the Arabs in 707, and soon after they invaded Spain, where they were the dominant power till the 11th century They were highly cultured, and it was chiefly through them that the culture of the ancients was transmitted to modern times.

Goths.—See note on p 14, l. 13.

1 9 *Scythian swarms*—The broad term *Scythia* was used to indicate the regions N. and N.E. of the Black Sea.

1 16 *Religion*—The Goths, for example, were converted to Christianity in the third century

1 18. *Clergy, both secular and regular*—*Regular* means belonging to, and *secular* not belonging to, a religious order (e.g. of monks).

1 33 The Franks were a confederation of Germanic tribes in the Rhine valley, an agricultural but warlike race who laid the foundations (beginning of 6th century A.D.) of the kingdom of France They adopted Christianity, about the same time.

1 34. The Lombards, or Longobards, were a nation of ancient Germany who, in the 6th century A.D., subjugated northern Italy, which they named Lombardy and held till they were conquered by Charlemagne two centuries later.

Roman —Belonging to the Roman Catholic Church

Page 23

1 8 *Those of the long robes.*—Priests

1 17 *Constantinople*, which had for many centuries been the capital of the Eastern Roman Empire, was taken by the Turks in 1453, and became the capital of the Turkish Empire. (Christianity became the religion of the Romans under Constantine the Great in the fourth century)

1 30 *Johann Reuchlin* (1455-1522).—A German scholar

Desiderius Erasmus (1466-1536), a great Dutch scholar and reformer, played a very conspicuous part in the "Revival of Learning," which followed the dispersal of scholars throughout Europe after the Turkish capture of Constantinople. He travelled widely in Europe, for purposes both of study and of teaching, and paid several visits to England. at one time he taught Greek and divinity in Cambridge.

1 31 *George Buchanan* (1506-82).—A Scottish scholar, historian and poet—perhaps the most brilliant scholar of his time

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1 23 *Rene Descartes* (1596-1650) —A great French mathematician and philosopher who discarded the traditional scholastic philosophy of the Middle Ages and was a much more original thinker than Temple would seem to admit.

Thomas Hobbes (1588-1679) —An English philosopher whose work gave "an extraordinary impulse to the spirit of free enquiry in Europe"

1 29 *The new French author*, etc.—See note on p 2, l. 5.

1. 34. *Copernican system* —Copernicus (1473-1543) was the founder of modern astronomy, propounding the theory that the earth was not, as till then had been believed, the centre of the universe, but revolved, with the other planets, round the sun. This theory, now, of course, universally accepted, was finally developed by Newton.

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1. 1. *William Harvey* (1578-1657), an English physician, demonstrated the circulation of the blood.

1. 8 *No change . . little use.*—They were really of revolutionary importance, and Harvey's discovery was of the greatest practical use

1. 20 *Wholly lost in the world*—This would have been a curious and ridiculous statement had "the learned" made it a century or two later.

1. 24. *Poetry...among us*—Temple cannot be excused for his ignorant and prejudiced view of modern poetry, which included Elizabethan poetry in England, and he wisely avoids examples. He inherits the contempt for rhyme felt by such sixteenth century critics as Ascham because it was used neither by Greek nor by Roman poets. See note on p. 62, l. 19. There is no particular point in the reference to the Goths, as regards either poetry or music. The friars are mentioned because the mediaeval priests wrote ecclesiastical Latin verses in rhyme.
Page 26.

1. 2 *Patients*—*Patient* is here used to mean *that which* (or *he who*) *is acted upon*—the opposite of *agent*

1. 12 *What traces, etc.*—He ignores, in particular, the Gothic architecture of the Middle Ages.

1. 13 *Babylon*, the ancient capital of Babylonia from 2,250 B. C., became renowned for its magnificence under King Nebuchadnezzar, who reigned 604-561 B. C. According to Herodotus, it was square, with sides 15 miles long, and, he declared, "in magnificence no other city can compare with it" See Herodotus, I. 178 ff

Pyramids.—The most famous of the pyramids are the three great pyramids of Gizeh, near Cairo, built as tombs for ancient Egyptian kings. The largest, that of Cheops, measures 755 feet along each side of its square base, and is 451 feet high. It contains about 6,000,000, tons of stone, and, according to Herodotus, its building employed 100,000 men for twenty years. There are very many pyramids in different parts of Egypt. Those at Memphis are referred to on p. 32, l. 9.

Tomb of Mausolus—He was a king of Caria, in the fourth century B. C., and from the magnificent tomb which his wife, Artemisia, built in his memory the word *mausoleum* is derived.

1. 19. The Colossus of Rhodes, erected 292-280 B. C., was

a statue of Apollo, a hundred feet in height. The word was thence used by the Greeks and the Romans, and is used in modern languages, of statues of gigantic size.

1. 27 *Syracuse*, in Sicily, was taken by the Romans in 212 B. C. Owing to the invention of various engines of war by Archimedes (the most celebrated engineer of antiquity and a native of Syracuse) the siege had taken two years.

1. 33. *Loadstone*, or magnetite, a mineral with magnetic qualities. Presumably the needle of the mariner's compass which had come into use long before Temple's day, was magnetised by the use of loadstone. (See p. 27, l. 34.)

Page 27

1. 5 *Tyrans*—See note on p. 11, l. 29.

1. 6. *Carthaginians*—Carthage, at the north-eastern end of the Bay of Tunis in North Africa, was founded about the middle of the 9th century B. C. by Phoenicians from Tyre. The Carthaginian Empire eventually became very powerful, and for a time rivalled Rome, and the Carthaginians, like all Phoenicians, were great merchants and seamen.

1. 27. *Knowledge and fame*, etc.—Temple is very hard put to it, in this paragraph, to maintain his thesis, and his make-shifts are very amusing—the implication, for example, that geographical and ethnological knowledge is of trivial value. As for the present sentence, we may be sure that ancient voyagers—and particularly the Phoenicians—had “gains and wealth” very much in view in their voyaging, while, on the other hand, Temple seems quite ignorant of the spirit of the Elizabethan mariners, who certainly were animated by a noble zeal for “knowledge and fame,” and by an all-dominating patriotism. But it is an old tendency to attribute greater disinterestedness to the men of old time. Horace, with more truth, remarks of the old Greeks, “Their only greed was for glory. The Romans learn in their schooldays to divide a penny, by long sums, into a hundred parts.” (*Ars Poetica*.)

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1. 3. *North-west passage*—In the 16th century attempts were made by Frobisher, Hudson, and Baffin to find a “north-west passage” to India. These attempts, in spite of heroic efforts and the sacrifice of a number of lives, were in vain.

Probably Temple little realised the difficulties of exploration in the arctic regions. It has to be admitted, however, that Frobisher's attempt was given up because of promising mineral discoveries' (See E. J. Payne, *Voyages of Elizabethan Seamen*, p. 86)

Tartary—Perhaps in the old general sense of Central Asia. The more limited application was to Chinese and Western Turkestan.

l. 5. The Strait of Magellan (between S. America and the island of Tierra del Fuego) was discovered by the Portuguese explorer Magellan in 1520.

l. 10. *Yezo* is the largest of the islands of Japan.

l. 20. *New Holland*—A former name for Australia.

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l. 27. *Artillery*—Compare Milton, *Paradise Lost*, II. 714—

As when two black clouds,
With heaven's artillery fraught, come rattling on
Over the Caspian.

l. 32. *We none of us know*—It was just at this period that Newton was giving final demonstration of the Copernican theory. (See note on p. 24, l. 34.)

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l. 3. *Of all these colts*—"For vain man would be wise, though man be born like a wild ass's colt." *Job*, XI. 12.—"Divine writer," divine inspiration being attributed to the authors of the books of the Bible.

l. 8. *Sufficiency*—Self-sufficiency, presumptuous self-confidence.

l. 15. *Every seven years*—An allusion to the idea that the body is completely renewed in the course of every seven years.

l. 30. *Gresham College*—Founded and endowed by Sir Thomas Gresham, a 16th century English merchant and founder of the Royal Exchange.

Academies.—An academy (from the name of the Athenian garden in which Plato taught) is a learned society. A number of academies were founded in Paris in the 17th century. Cf. p. 71, l. 30.

l. 31, *Lyceum*—The Lyceum was a garden in Athens where Aristotle taught

l. 32 *Academy*—See note on l. 30 Temple has made a mistake, interchanging the Lyceum and the Academy

Zeno (c. 340—270 B.C.), the founder of the Stoic philosophy, taught in the *Stoa Portico*, *Painted Porch*, whence the name of the philosophy

l. 33 *Epicurus* (see notes on p. 13, ll. 14, 27, 28) established his philosophical school in a garden in Athens, which was called the Garden of Epicurus

Hypocrates—See note on p. 6, l. 19

Wilkins—John Wilkins, a seventeenth century English scientist (and bishop), one of the founders—and first secretary—of the Royal Society

l. 34, *Archimedes*—See note on p. 26, l. 27

Davila (1576—1631), a leading Venetian and governor of Dalmatia and Candia, wrote a history of the French Civil Wars.

Strada (1572—1649), a Jesuit priest, wrote a history of the revolt of the Netherlands against Spain.

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l. 1 *Herodotus*—See note on p. 34, l. 26.

Livy (59 B.C.—17 A.D.), historian of the Roman Republic. Modern historians—later, of course, than Temple's time—have greatly improved upon Herodotus and Livy in system, judgment, and accuracy, but few histories are so delightful to read as theirs.

Sleyden.—Johannes Sleidanus was a 16th century German historian, who wrote *Commentaries on religion and the state in the reign of Charles V.* The word *Commentaries* simply means *History*.

l. 2 *Cæsar*.—Julius Cæsar (102—44 B.C.), in addition to his greatness as soldier, statesman, and orator, was an excellent historian of his own wars and master of a pure, clear and vigorous prose style. His historical works were called *Commentaries*.

Boileau (1636—1711), a French critic and poet, is cele-

brated chiefly for his *Art Poétique*, *Art of Poetry*, (1674), in which he enunciated the principles which in England, largely through his influence, became those of the Augustan school of Pope (See note on p. 52, l. 25.) He wrote also a serio-comic epic, *Le Lutrin*, *The Reading-desk*, and poetic epistles and satires. It is, of course, ridiculous to choose Boileau for comparison with Virgil, the greatest of Roman poets the fit comparison would have been between Virgil and Dante, Spenser, or Milton.

1 3 *Virgil's* epic, the *Aeneid*, which tells the mythical story of the foundation of Rome, is one of the three great classical epics, the others being the *Iliad* and the *Odyssey* of Homer, and his pastorals (the *Eclogues*) and his didactic poem on husbandry (the *Georgics*) are no less distinguished in their kinds.

1. 4 *Gondibert* is an epic poem by Sir William D'Avenant (1606—1668), an English poet and dramatist—a dull poem, but containing some fine poetry. Certain contemporary critics thought very highly of the poem.

1 7. *The plays in Moorfields*—*Plays* is used in the obsolete sense of *games*. Moorfields, or Finsbury Fields, was an open space in London, used for various sorts of recreation—archery, for instance.

The Olympic Games (an athletic tournament constituting the chief national festival of Greece) were held every four years on the plain of Olympia in Elis.

1. 8. *Orpheus*—Poet and musician in Greek mythology.

1. 9. *Arion*.—A Greek poet and lute-player of the latter part of the 7th century B. C.

Those of Memphis.—See note on p. 26, l. 18.

1. 11. *Operas*—Musical dramas.

1 13. *But the consideration*, etc.—It should be noted that, as this indicates, Temple limits his consideration, in pp. 33-35, to prose writers.

1. 18 *Our languages*, etc.—Modern languages took a long time to "settle," but they are now quite as stable as were Greek and Latin, and it is modern literature, so much derided by Temple, that has stabilised them. Up to Temple's time many English writers hesitated to trust their work to English

not being confident of its permanence, and some, like Bacon, committed to Latin as well as to English what they considered most valuable

l 27 *Corrupted*.—What seemed to Temple to be mere corruption has turned out to be a gain in many ways, for the Latin language, while unapproached in precision and logicity, was not nearly so flexible and responsive as modern languages.

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l 1 *Goths* —See note on p 14, l 13

Moors —See note on p 22, l 8

l 2. *Lombards* —See note on p 22, l 34

Franks —See note on p. 22, l. 33.

l 6 *Biscay* —Biscaya, Vizcaya, a Basque province of N W Spain, on the Bay of Biscay

The Asturias.—Asturias is an ancient province of Northern Spain, and its people, having remained somewhat isolated, are the purest representatives of the Spanish race.

l 7 *The old Gallic* —The ancient French, Gallic, language

l 11 The Roman conquest of Britain was accomplished by about 80 A D

Saracens —See note on p. 21, l. 31

l 12. *Saxons*.—This Teutonic race appear to have come originally from Jutland At the end of the 5th century a large number of them, after many raids on the British coast, settled in Britain, and their language, Saxon or Anglo-Saxon (the Angles were another Teutonic tribe who settled in England in the 5th century), became the language of the country, and is the basis of modern English During early Saxon times it was an exceedingly pure language, admitting only a very few Latin and Celtic words

Normans —The Normans (a Norse race from Normandy, in France), under William the Conqueror, invaded England in 1066, and had conquered it by 1072 The Norman language and civilisation profoundly *modified*, but did not *supplant*, that of the conquered race.

Neither the Saxon nor the Norman invaders succeeded in the complete subjugation of Wales, and the mountainous nature

of certain regions, religion, and the spirit of independence have always tended to maintain a certain isolation from England of parts of Wales. In some parts the Welsh language (a branch of Celtic) has been spoken from the beginning of British history to the present day. As a result of a revival of the language in the 18th century Welsh is now taught in the elementary and secondary schools and the universities of Wales.

l. 14 *British*.—The old Celtic language

l. 13. *Imperfect copies*.—The English language, in spite of direct and indirect Latin influences, is essentially Anglo-Saxon. Temple, however, makes no specific reference to English, this being held inferior (p. 32, l. 25) to French, Italian, and Spanish. These are much more closely related to Latin, but not "copies"; each possesses a character of its own. See note on p. 32, l. 27.—It is curious that Temple, himself so notable a stylist, should so little recognise the capacities of the English language.

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l. 1 *Profane*, profane, means *secular*,—not dealing with religious (to Temple of course Christian) matters.

Aesop, a Phrygian, lived during the latter half of the 6th century B. C., and the fables collected and told by him are still popular. They seem to have a very early origin, and there is a theory that some of them originated in a collection of the birth-stories of Buddha. Cf. note on p. 59, l. 23.

l. 2 *Phalaris* (c. 570-549 B. C.) was tyrant of Agrigentum in Sicily, and is chiefly remembered by the tradition that he used to roast people alive in a brazen bull. The so-called *Epistles of Phalaris* are forgeries. Temple is wrong in his contention that Phalaris must have written them. A few years after this essay was written there was a violent controversy on this subject among English scholars; and Bentley conclusively proved that the *Epistles* were not authentic.

l. 11 *Politian* (1454-94), an Italian priest and professor distinguished as a classical translator and commentator.

l. 12. *Lucretius*.—See note on p. 60, l. 6.

l. 14. *An original*.—A work actually produced by its reputed author, Phalaris.

l. 23. *Writ*.—Wrote.

c 1. 24. *Sophist*.—The word here means simply *trained philosopher*.

l 26. *Herodotus* (circ 484—circ 425 B. C.), Greek historian, "the Father of History," traced from early times the history of Greece and the peoples with whom she came in contact. In his wide travels his curious enquiries had secured a vast amount of information as to the manners and customs of various races, and his work is a storehouse of the most fascinating stories, which he tells in a style of incomparable charm. He was not very critical, and loved his stories for their own sake. Frequently, when they are too much even for his credibility, he expresses his doubt of their truth, but tells them with much gusto all the same. As regards the Persian wars, which were nearly of his own time, he is considered fairly accurate, and is our chief authority.

Thucydides—Thucydides (born 471 B. C.), the greatest of Greek historians. His History of the Peloponnesian War is remarkable for accuracy, impartiality and profound knowledge of human nature. He wrote of contemporary events, in which he himself took a conspicuous part, and this fact, with his more critical temper, makes him of course a much more reliable historian than Herodotus, in much of his work, can claim to be. The style of Thucydides is noted for its vigour, in spite of frequent difficulty.

l 27. *Hippocrates*—See note on p. 6, l. 19.

Plato (428-347 B. C.), the great Greek philosopher. The conversational method of his master Socrates led to Plato's writing his philosophic works in dialogue form, and in almost every dialogue Socrates is introduced as the chief speaker. Plato is great in logic, in metaphysic and in ethic; and is conspicuous beyond all other philosophers in the imaginative and poetic quality of his writing, in the charm of its style, and in its influence upon philosophy, poetry, and life.

Xenophon (circ. 435-354 B. C.), Greek historian and general. His *Anabasis* gives the history of the retreat from the Tigris to Trapezus of an army in the service of Cyrus the Younger, commanded by Xenophon. His *Hellenica* gives a history of Greece from 411 to 362 B. C.: it takes up the narrative where Thucydides ended. He wrote a number of

other works, of which four are expositions of the teaching of his friend and master Socrates. Xenophon is not a very good historian—he lacks accuracy and the historical understanding. But he had particularly good opportunities for obtaining information; and his style is fresh and pleasing.

Aristotle (384-322 B. C.) was a pupil of Plato, but differs from him fundamentally, in the manner in which the man of science differs from the man of creative imagination. His treatises on natural science etc. are of course long out of date, but the services of his scientific method in philosophy cannot be exaggerated. He was the founder of the science of logic. This was perhaps his greatest achievement. His metaphysical, ethical and political works and his treatise on the art of poetry, *The Poetics*, are of permanent value.

1 29. *Caesar*—See note on p 32, l. 2.

1 30. *Salust*—Sallust (86-34 B. C.), a Roman historian, whose most important work, the *Histories*, is lost almost entirely, but whose *Jugurtha* (a history of the war, 110-106 B. C., of the Romans against the Numidian King Jugurtha) and *Outlines* (a history of the conspiracy of Catiline, 68 B. C.) survive, the latter being of considerable value.

Cicero (106-43 B. C.), the Roman orator, philosopher, and publicist, and one of the finest prose stylists of the world.

1 32. Cato the Elder (234-149 B. C.), called "The Censor," a Roman statesman, famous for his passionate sincerity in promoting reform and for the rugged simplicity of his character and life. He was frequently referred to later as the best type of republican Roman. His *De Re Rustica*, *On Rural Matters*, an agricultural treatise, survives.

1 34. *Lucretius*—See note on p 18, l. 29.

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1 2. *Velleius Paterculus* (circ. 19 B. C.—31 A. D.), a Roman historian who deals with both Greek and Roman history.

1 4. *Plutarch* (enc. 46—circ 120 A. D.), a Greek writer, most famous for his *Lives*, in which he deals with forty-six Greeks and forty-six Romans arranged in pairs for comparison. This work, not particularly valuable historically, is of considerable ethical value (he wrote also a series of ethical works).

translated, and his *Letters* also were translated into English. He exercised a considerable influence upon Spanish prose, and may have influenced the Euphuism of Lyly.

l. 20 *Rablais*—Rabelais (circ. 1483-1553), the French satirist and humorist, whose great work, *Gargantua and Pantagruel*, has exercised a tremendous influence upon European literature. His humour has the grossness of that of his time, but the work is made great by the richness of its humanity and by its essential sincerity and wisdom.

Montaigne—Montaigne (1532-92), the French essayist. His essays touch on very varied topics, and Thackeray remarked that any of them might bear almost any title. They are rambling and inconclusive, but full of wisdom and of humanity, and intimately personal in tone. This personal quality gives them a peculiar charm, even when their ideas, as frequently, are trite enough. Montaigne was practically the originator of this kind of essay, and English essayists, like those of other European countries, owe much to him. "It is not often," says Edmund Gosse, "that we can date with any approach to accuracy the arrival of a new class of literature into the world, but it was in the month of March, 1571, that the essay was invented. It was started in the second story of the old tower of the castle of Montaigne, in a study to which the philosopher withdrew for that purpose surrounded by his books, close to his chapel, sheltered from the excesses of the fatiguing world."

l. 21. *Sir Philip Sidney* (1554-86), courtier, soldier, scholar, poet. His friend Spenser, in dedicating to him *The Faerie Queene*, calls him

The president

Of noblesse and of chivalree,

and Sidney is remembered for the nobility and generosity of his character even more than for his genius. About the year 1579—the year in which Spenser's *Shepherd's Calendar* was published—Elizabethan literature may be said to have turned from experiment to performance, and Sidney, partly because of his birth and his personality, and partly because of the range of his writing, was looked upon as the leader in this work. His own most important works are the *Arcadia*, a prose romance which contains also a large number of his poems, *Astrophel and*

Stella, one of the sonnet-sequences characteristic of the time, containing also many songs, and the *Apologie for Poetrie*, a critical essay in which, besides offering a noble and final defence of poetry against puritanic objections, he exalts classical practice in poetry, and particularly in drama—Temple is thinking of his prose, which possesses both vigour and beauty—See p. 60, l 9 ff

Bacon—Francis Bacon, Lord Verulam and Viscount St. Albans (1561—1626), the only first-rate genius among the three English writers here mentioned by Temple. The student should read such an account of his work as is to be found in *Philosophical Classics for English Readers* or in Stoir and Gibson's Introduction to their edition of Bacon's *Essays*.

John Selden (1584-1654), an English politician and jurist, who, though he took a conspicuous part in public life, was devoted to literature. He was a very learned man, but his learned works are not now remembered, and probably even Temple had in mind his famous *Table Talk*, a posthumous work consisting of conversational materials collected by his secretary. It contains much wit and wisdom, but it is most comical to place Selden among the most notable English writers.

l 24. *Voiture* (1598-1648), a French poet and letter-writer

La Rochefoucauld (1630-80), remembered for his *Réflexions ou Sentences et Maximes morales* (a book of maxims showing the most penetrating understanding and written in an admirable style), and his *Mémoires* and *Lettres*.

l. 25 *Bussy*.—Roger de Rabutin, Comte de Bussy, (1618-1693), usually called Bussy-Rabutin. His *Histoire Amoureuse de Gaules* (*Love-history of French Ladies*) consists of witty but very ill-natured sketches of the love-affairs of the court ladies.

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l. 14. The Councils were assemblies of ecclesiastics held at various times to decide points of religious faith or church-discipline.

The term *Fathers of the Church* is used of early ecclesiastical writers to whose work a certain sanctity and authority is attached.

Schoolmen.—Philosophers and theologians of the later Middle Ages

l. 15 *Ocasuists*—Theological writers who worked out the details of moral obligation in particular cases.

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l. 27. Francis I, King of France from 1515 to 1547

Charles V, King of Spain from 1516 to 1555. (He was Charles I of Spain, but is known in history as Charles V because he was the fifth emperor of that name of the Holy Roman Empire.)

l. 30. Pico della Mirandola (1463-94) was an Italian count, distinguished as a philosopher and writer.

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l. 7 *Struck sail to*—To *strike sail* is to lower the sails of a boat, and the expression is here used figuratively meaning to yield (Of Shakespeare, *II Henry IV*, V. 2. 18)

l. 15 *That emperor*.—Augustus (63 B.C.—14 A.D.), the first Roman emperor

Mæcenas was a great Roman patron of letters in Augustus' time, famous for his kindness to Virgil and Horace, particularly the latter. His name came to be used as a general term for one who encourages literary genius

l. 18 *Humour*—Disposition.

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l. 9. *Horace* (65-8 B.C.), great Roman lyric poet, who wrote also poetic epistles and satires, which are full of genial wisdom, and a poetical treatise on the art of poetry (*Ars Poetica*) The reference is to his *Odes*, Bk III 30. In this ode he bids farewell to lyric poetry, expressing his confidence of eternal fame (Some years after, however, he returned to lyrical composition)

l. 10 *Epicurus*.—See note on p 13, l. 14.

l. 26 *Chaldaean mags*—Performers of sacred rites, and augurers and astrologers. Such a caste, so to call it, existed in Persia under Cyrus, and Temple seems to be using the word *Chaldaean* quite loosely, without any special race-significance—just as in several ancient historians it was applied to

any astrologers or magicians, and even to mathematicians and astronomers

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l. 22 *Ingenious*—Old sense *talented*

l. 23. *Don Quixot*.—See note on p. 35, l. 18

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l. 24. The reference is to Alfonso V, King of Aragon, Sicily, and Naples, 1416-58, an outstanding figure of the Renaissance—a lover of the classics and a great patron of men of letters.

Of Poetry.

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l. 33. *Related to*.—Referred to

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ll 3—5 —Virgil, *Eclogues*, VIII. 69-71. Dryden's free translation runs—

Pale Phoebe, drawn by verse, from heaven descends;
And Circe changed with charms Ulysses' fiends.

Verse breaks the ground, and penetrates the brake,
And in the winding cavern splits the snake.

("Charms," in the second line, means the verses of an incantation)

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l. 4. *Fascination*.—In the derivation sense of "power to affect by spells, etc." Temple wishes that this matter had been investigated in the same candid and rational way in which Casaubon studied "enthusiasm."

l. 6. Meric Casaubon (to be distinguished from the classical commentator, Isaac Casaubon, who was his father), 1599-1671. The word *enthusiasm* means, by derivation, *inspiration by a god*, but Casaubon was concerned to show that apparent inspiration was a natural human phenomenon.

l. 8. *That delusion*—The delusion that enthusiasm, inspiration, is due to the influence of a god or a demon.

l 20. *Upon account of* —On the charge of being.

l 28 *What is the burthen...town* —The second part of the eighth *Elogue* consists of a verse-incantation to bring back a lover, and its *burden*, or refrain, is—

Ducite ab urbe domum, mea carmina, ducite Daphnim.

Bring Daphnis home from the city, bring him, my verses

(As in the passage quoted p. 44, ll. 3-5, the word *carmina* contains the ideas both of *verses* and of *charms*)

l 31. *Pretended* —Old sense 'intended'.

l 33. *By the power.enchantments* —By the mere music of the verse (a quite natural sort of "enchantment"), without the aid of any magic.

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l 8 *Tyrtæus*, whose date is doubtful, was an Athenian who lived among the Spartans and whose elegiac and lyrical poems (some of which were in a martial anapaestic measure and were sung as marching songs to the music of the flute) stimulated the Spartan warriors.

l 9. *Stesichorus* —A Sicilian lyric poet who is said to have been a friend of Phalaris (see note on p. 34, l 2).

l 12 *Sappho* —The most passionate of Greek lyric poets. She wrote in the Aeolic dialect, and was contemporary with Stesichorus.

Flora —The Roman goddess of flowers and the spring.

l 13. *Thais*.—An Athenian woman who, according to the legend immortalised in Dryden's ode, *Alexander's Feast*, but probably baseless, stimulated Alexander the Great to set fire to the palace of the Persian kings at Persepolis.

ll. 30—31 *Con studio*, with earnestness, *con diligencia*, with diligence, *con amore*, with love.

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l 14. *Amphion*.—In Greek mythology, the musician to the sound of whose lyre the stones moved and formed a wall to defend Thebes.

l 17. *Possession*.—Devil-possession

Sacred Writ —The Bible. There are reference to snake-charming in *Psalms*, LVIII 5, *Ecclesiastes*, X. 11; *Jeremiah*,

VIII. 17, *James*, III 7.—When King Saul was “troubled” by an “evil spirit,” David played to him on the harp, and “the evil spirit departed from him” (*I Samuel*, Chap XVI)

l 23 *Caesar*, etc.—*Labienus* is evidently a mistake for *Ligarius* Plutarch, in his *Life of Cicero*, tells the story thus—“When Quintus Ligarius was prosecuted for bearing arms against Caesar, and Cicero had undertaken to plead his cause, Caesar is reported to have said, ‘...I have already taken my resolution as to Ligarius, who is clearly a bad man, as well as my enemy’ But he was greatly moved when Cicero began, and his speech, as it proceeded, had such a variety of pathos, so irresistible a charm, that his colour often changed, and it was evident that his mind was torn with conflicting passions At last, when the orator touched on the battle of Pharsalia, he was so extremely affected that his whole frame trembled, and he let drop some papers out of his hand. Thus, conquered by the force of eloquence, he acquitted Ligarius” (Langhorne’s translation.)

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l. 14 *Harvey*—See note on p 25, l 1

l 16 *Meric Casaubon*—See note on p. 45, l 6

l. 22 *Octavia*, half-sister of Augustus and wife of Antony, was noted for her beauty and virtue.

l 23. *Swoond*—Swoon.

l 24. *Aeneides*—Books of the *Aeneid*.

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l. 2. *Rumack poetry*.—See note on p 62, l 19

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l. 7. *A just poem*—He thinks that a true poem must be elevated, and on a noble scale An ode, an elegy, or a song, is, by this judgment, too slight, and a satire, besides its slightness, lacks the directness and elevation of the highest poetry.—Temple has a curious and absurd contempt for lyric and elegiac poetry: cf. p. 68, l. 24 ff.

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l. 9. *Their sciences or arts*.—There is a tendency among commentators upon the sacred or venerated poems of antiquity to find, by distorted interpretation, anticipations of modern

science or art. In some cases, of course, there really are such anticipations; but Homer is certainly not a storehouse of scientific or artistic ideas.

1. 25-P 54, l 21. The discussion of the French neo-classicism of the seventeenth century, its influence upon English poetry in the seventeenth and early eighteenth centuries, and the English modifications of its theory—all this is for the lecture-room, and a brief reference must suffice in these notes—Malherbe, early in the seventeenth century, was the pioneer of French neo-classicism, holding that not passion, not imagination, but style and correctness were the essentials of verse; and Boileau, and lesser critics, elaborated the consequent rules of the versifying art, taking the theory of Aristotle and Horace as basis but refining and complicating it into the apparatus of a mechanic art. They professed to take classical *practice* as well as classical *theory* as their guide. "It is," says Le Bossu (1680), "in the excellent work of the Ancients that we must seek the foundations of this art, and we must limit ourselves to those to whom all others have given the glory, either of having most happily practised it, or of having most judiciously collected and laid down its rules. The Greeks and the Latins have given us examples of both kinds. Aristotle and Horace have left rules, which have made all the learned hold them for the Masters of the Art Poetic and the poems of Homer and Virgil are, by the consent of all ages, the completest models that have ever appeared in this style of writing'. The "rules" are the very essence of the doctrine of the neo-classical critics, who missed the spirit of ancient classical (particularly of Greek) literature, and did not realise that Aristotle's "rules" were by way of analysis of past and current practice, not by way of precept, and that neither he nor Horace would have dreamt of suggesting that they were adequate for the *creation* of poetry. Even Horace, though he strongly insists upon the "labour of the smoothing file," declares, "I cannot see what study can achieve without a rich gift of genius," and proclaims, in famous words, the necessity for passion in the poet—"If you wish to make me weep you must first be moved yourself." But the neo-classicists precisely excluded inspiration, as in Rapin's "It is by no means true that, as most people think, some madness ought to enter into

the character of poetry" It is to be dominated by commonsense, and reason is not merely to control it but to be the essence of it "Love Reason, then," says Boileau "let your writings always borrow from her at once their brilliancy and then value Too many, carried away by insensate excitement, fetch their thoughts far from plain sense Everything must tend towards Good Sense" And naturally "good sense" will produce that which is "useful" "Let your Muse," says Boileau, "everywhere join the solid and useful with the agreeable" And Rapin, still more precisely,— "It is only for the purpose of being useful that Poetry ought to be agreeable" Finally, the word "Nature" was much on the lips of the neo-classicists, as in Boileau's "Let Nature, then, be your only study We must never separate ourselves from Nature" This seems curious in men to whom natural impulse, as well as external nature, meant so little, but by "the natural" they meant that which is regarded as normal by contemporary cultured society. Unfortunately such normality excludes not merely affectation but passion and sublimity, as also that which is "natural" in other cultured, or uncultured, societies. It was a profound mistake, too, to identify the normal of French or English society in the eighteenth century with that of either Greek or Roman society at any period This was realised by certain contemporary *Spanish* critics, one of whom remarks, "If the Spanish Drama were to adjust itself to the rules and laws of the ancients, it would proceed *against* nature, and *against* the fundamentals of poetry" * The infinite variety of Nature, in every sphere, precludes the formulation of "rules," and Pope's phrase for these rules, "Nature methodiz'd," is a contradiction in terms

In many respects Dryden transcended the neo-classic doctrine, which became really dominant in England only in the early eighteenth century, in Pope's subservience to Boileau Temple's views are indicated in this passage, and elsewhere in the essay

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13. *To have valued themselves.*—Another reference to the "pride" of the Moderns cf. p. 31, ll 6 ff.

* The translations from these continental critics are Professor Shintbury's, in *Lost Critics*.

l 28 *Theocritus* (fourth and third centuries B. C.), the Sicilian, founder of bucolic poetry.

Lucan (circa 39-65 A. D.), Roman epic poet, whose *Pharsalia* deals with the struggle between Caesar and Pompey.

l 31 *Happy*—"Felicitous" in his writing. Cf. *felicitur audet*, l. 34.

l. 34 *Pretences*—Claims (without the modern suggestion of deceit)

Felicitur audet—Shows a felicitous boldness. The phrase is Horace's—used, in the *Epistle to Augustus* (*Ep.* II. 1 166) of the early Roman tragic poets

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l 1. *Ovid* (43 B. C.—18 A. D.), Roman poet, remarkable chiefly for the exquisite finish of his verse and for his facility in the retelling of old myths in the *Metamorphoses*. Until his exile in his fiftieth year, after which there is a dominant sadness in his poetry, his playfulness of fancy and lightness of touch were such as to justify Temple's application of *luserit amabiliter*

Luserit amabiliter—Showed a pleasing sportiveness—another phrase from the *Epistle to Augustus* (*Ep.* II. 1 148), where it is used of the metrical repartees customary at old rustic festivals

l. 7 *Ille meum, etc*—Translated by Temple below. The lines are from the *Epistle to Augustus* (*Ep.* II. 1 211—13).

l. 11. *Vainly* is a literal translation of *inaniter*, but Horace does not mean *vainly* in the ordinary sense. The root sense in *inaniter* is that of *emptiness*, and he means that the poet's matter may be fictitious. Similarly, the proper translation of *falsis terroribus* would be *with imagined terrors*.

l. 26. *The first sort of writing*.—See note on p. 7, l. 7.

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l 1 *The Agathyrsi* were a Scythian people, who tattooed themselves blue

l 3. *In them*—In verses

l. 6 *Pliny the Elder* (23—79 A. D.), a Roman writer on natural history,—and on other topics, but only his *Natural*

History survives. As may be gathered from this reference, the work is much wider in scope than its title suggests.

l 7 *Pherecydes*—Pherecydes, of Syros (an island in the Aegean), who flourished about 544 B C (Cyrus the Great died 528 B C), was an early Greek philosopher, who is said to have been a teacher of Pythagoras.

l 9 *Hesiod*—An early Greek poet, probably of the 8th century B C. See note on p 7, l 7. His *Works and Days* gives, besides its agricultural precepts, a gloomy picture of rustic toil, and mourns indignantly the corruption of judges and the difficulty of obtaining justice in the world.

l 10. *Linus* is a purely mythical personage.

l 15 *Archilocus*—Archilochus (8th and 7th centuries B C), an Ionian lyric poet, and the first Greek poet who used regular iambic metre.

Simonides of Amorgos lived about 664 B C—the second great Greek iambic poet; to be distinguished from the later Simonides of Ceos, a more celebrated poet, who is mentioned p. 58, l 20.

l 25 ff. *Job*—The problem of the date and authorship of the *Book of Job* is still unsettled.

l. 30 *Sabæans*—An Arabian tribe.

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l. 2. *Mosaic*—Instituted by the Jewish lawgiver, Moses.

l 7 *The ancient Persians*—Temple is probably thinking of Zoroastrianism, the religion of the Persians till the Mohammedan invasion in the middle of the 6th century B C. This religion is based on the idea of two conflicting principles in the world—those of good and of evil—and admits no idol-worship.

l 8 *Etruscans*—The Etruscans, the inhabitants of Etruria in Italy, were a people of very early origin—much earlier than that of their rivals and conquerors, the Romans. To them the Romans owed much of their civilisation. They worshipped many gods, and were not without image worship. See Hastings' *Encyclopædia of Religion and Ethics*, *Etruscan Religion*.

l. 22. *Ferrara*.—An Italian city and a centre of literary

culture in the 16th century, in which century, Professor Spurgarn notes, this translation of the Old Testament was completed

1 30 *The Books of Moses*.—The first five books of the Bible, *Genesis, Exodus, Leviticus, Numbers, Deuteronomy*. They are called collectively "The Law" or "The Pentateuch"

1 31 *The Song of Moses*.—*Deuteronomy*, XXXII 1—43

1 32 *That of Deborah*—Deborah was a Jewish prophetess, and the song referred to (*Judges*, V.) was sung by her and Barak in celebration of their triumph, with the Jewish forces, over the army of the Canaanites

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1 6 *Esdras*, or *Ezra*, was a Jewish scribe of the 6th century B C Tradition ascribes to him the authorship of the *Books of Chronicles* as well as the *Book of Ezra*, which is a continuation of these, and, as scribe, he may have done important compilation work It is not agreed however that he played the pioneering part ascribed to him by Temple's "some learned men" The "historical parts of the *Old Testament*" are of course the books from *Joshua* to *Ezra*.

1 9 *The Psalms of David*—Though this phrase is still in use, the *Psalms* are a collection of sacred poems by various authors David was the *founder* of the psalter, and author of many of the psalms David, who was the first "true monarch" of the Jews, and founded a dynasty which lasted for more than four centuries, is said to have reigned B. C 1032—992.

1 10 *The Song of Solomon*.—Solomon, who succeeded David, is said to have reigned to 952 B C. Some doubt his authorship of this *Song*, while his authorship of *Ecclesiastes* is more widely challenged

1 13 *Prophane*—See note on p 34, l 1.

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1 15 *Carmena Secularia*.—Hymns sung at the "Secular Games," which were held by the Romans at intervals of 110 years (*Secular* is derived from *seculum* in the sense of a *century*)

1 17. *Pinhur* (c. 522—c. 442 B. C.), the greatest of

Greek lyric poets The only poems of his that survive are his *Triumphal Odes* written in honour of the victors in the various contests held at the periodical athletic festivals of Greece

l 20 *Simonides*.—This is not the Simonides mentioned on p. 75, l 15, but Simonides of *Ceos* (556-468 B C), a great lyric and elegiac poet, who conquered Aeschylus in the contest for the prize offered by the Athenians for an elegy on those who fell at Marathon Temple's phrase, "instructions in morality" is an absurdly limited account of his work, yet his poems have a strong moral element "They represent," says Professor Murray, "the extreme of Greek 'sophrosyne'—self mastery, healthy-mindedness—severe beauty, utterly free from exaggeration or trick—plain speech, to be spoken in the presence of simple and eternal things" (*Literature of Ancient Greece*, p 107)

Phocylides—Phocylides, an Ionian poet, born B C 560, who wrote moralising epics, though only some epigrams of his survive. There is, however, a long poem containing moral precepts which in Temple's time was ascribed to Phocylides

Theognis (born circ 540 B C), a Greek elegiac and gnomic poet, of Megara. He is the "best preserved" of the Greek elegists While "instructions in morality" by no means covers even his surviving work, it applies to a good deal of it "Our extant remains are entirely personal ebullitions of feeling or monitory addresses, chiefly to his squire Kynos. He teaches him all the duties of Dorian chivalry—to fight, to suffer in silence, to stick to a friend, to keep clear of falsehood, and to avoid associating with 'base men'" (Murray, *op cit*, pp 83-4.)

l 22. *The first book of Hesiod*—The *Works and Days*.

l 23. *Virgil's Georgicks*—See note on p. 32, l 3.

Lucretius.—See note on p 13, l 29

l 27. *The Metamorphosis of Ovid*.—For the *Metamorphoses* see note on p. 54, l 1

l 30. *As may be observed ... Horace*—The sentence is rather confused: he means to refer to Theocritus and Virgil as writers of eclogues and to Horace as lyric poet.

l 31 *The first and last*.—An absurd statement. Rome was not rich in "true lyric poets," but Horace was by no

means the only one, and many would assign to him, in spite of his artistry, a lower place than to the passionate Catullus

1 34 *The chief end instruction*.—Another entirely untrue statement, which would make the dramatist false to his art

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1 20 *Æsop*—See note on p 34, l 1.

1 23 *A book of fables*—A famous collection of eastern fables in Sanscrit, called *The Fables of Bidpai* because they were traditionally assigned to an Indian philosopher called Bidpai or Pilpay, was translated into Pahlavi (an ancient form of Persian) in the 6th century A D • Barzoi, the court physician of King Khosru Anushirvan of Persia, journeyed to India for the purpose The translation was called *Kalilah and Dimnah*, from the names of two jackals in the original From the Pahlavi there were translations into old Syriac and into Arabic, and from the Arabic into several European languages Professor Spingarn notes that some of La Fontaine's fables are from this collection No doubt the version which Temple knew was Sir Thomas North's translation from an Italian version into English (1570). This Italian translation was from the *Directorium Humanae Vitae* of John of Capua, a Jew, which in turn was from a Hebrew translation by the Rabbi Joel—These fables were originally composed to teach Buddhism, and they are akin to the Birth Stories of Buddha (from which some of Æsop's fables are, perhaps, derived). Their chief sources are the Sanskrit fable-poems, *Panchatantra* and *Hitopadesa*.—See J G N Keith-Falconer, *Kalilah and Dimnah*, Cambridge, 1895

1 25 *Pretended*—Claimed

1 29. *Miletian Tales*.—The *Milesiaca* or *Milesian Tales* were the earliest examples of Greek fiction They are lost, but the term is sometimes applied to Greek novels in general

1 32 *Longi Pastoralia*.—This is the prose pastoral romance called *The Pastoral History of Daphnis and Chloe*, by the Greek Longus, whose period is uncertain—probably the fourth or fifth century A D See note on p. 60, l. 7.

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1. 3. *Gothick*—Here and in many other places Temple

uses *Gothic* where the more general *Teutonic* would be more appropriate *eg* p 61, l 26, p 62, l. 21, 23, p. 63, l 25, p. 64, l 5

l 5 *Petronius*, a Roman of the first century A.D., was used by the emperor Nero as a sort of judge of the refinements of pleasure, and was therefore called *Elegantiae Arbitr* (literally *Judge of Taste*) To him has been ascribed a work called *Petronii Arbitri Satyricon* (*The Medley of Petronius Arbitr*) We possess only passages from two out of its sixteen books, but it was a kind of novel in both prose and verse, with a certain amount of both social and literary satire besides its story.

l 6 *Lucian*—A Greek writer of the second century A.D., chiefly noteworthy as wit and satirist His *True History* influenced Rabelais' *Pantagruel* and Swift's *Gulliver's Travels*

l 7 *Heliodorus*, like Longus, was a post-Christian Greek romance-writer His novel *Aethiopica*, a love-story in ten books, survives "The two best Greek novelists are with little doubt Longus and Heliodorus the former for mere literary and poetic quality, the latter for plot and grouping and effective power of narrativeYou feel that Heliodorus may well be, what as a matter of fact he was, the forerunner of a long array of notable writers, and one of the founders of an exceptionally prolific and durable form of literature." (Murray, *Literature of Ancient Greece*, p. 403)

The author's chusing, etc.—"It is said that Heliodorus was a Christian and bishop of Salonica, and that the synod of his province called upon him either to burn his book or to resign his bishopric, whereupon the good man did the latter. The story rests on weak evidence, but it would be like the Heliodorus that we know" (*Ibid*)

l 10 *Sir Philip Sidney*.—See note on p. 35, l. 20

l. 26. *Tandals*—A Teutonic people akin to the Goths. They were among the invading tribes that helped to bring about the downfall of the Roman Empire

l. 30 *Tiberius*.—Roman Emperor, 14-37 A.D

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l 2 *Seneca* (3—65 A. D.), Roman philosopher and tragic

dramatist to be distinguished from Seneca the rhetorician, who was his father.

l 4. *Trajan*—Roman Emperor, 98—117 A.D.

Adrian—Hadrian, Roman Emperor, 117—138 A.D.

l 8 *In imitation*, etc.—There is nothing in the genuine verses to suggest the influence of Teutonic poetry, which is what Temple means by *runo poetry*.

l 9 *Florus*, a Roman historian who lived under Trajan and Hadrian, is probably the author of certain verses containing the phrase *Scythicus patri prunas* (to bear the Scythian frost)

l 10. *Rhyme*.—The verses as given by Temple may be taken to rhyme, but in what appears to be the correct text of the poem there is an additional line and the verses are unrhymed—

Animula, vagula, blandula,
Hospes comesque corporis,
Quae nunc abibis in loca,
Pallidula, rigida, nudula,
Nec, ut soles, dabis iocos?

As quoted by Temple, the verses may be translated thus (though, as Mr. Marcus Dimsdale has said, "the effect of the diminutives, which lend to the expression of the Emperor's misgivings so playful, caressing, and pathetic a grace, can hardly be reproduced in English") "O changing, caressing little soul of mine, whither wilt thou fare now, pale, pale, trembling little soul, thy wonted jests at an end?"

l 11 *Allusions*.—The word *allusion* has a sense now obsolete of *play upon words*, which play depends on similarity of sound. This similarity of sound is what Temple means here and on p 63, l 13

l 19. *This new ghost*.—See p. 60, l 20.

l 25. *Boethius*.—Boethius (480-524 A.D.), a Roman statesman and author, who wrote *De Consolatione Philosophiae* (*On the Consolation of Philosophy*). This is a dialogue diversified by poems in various metres. He did not use rhyme, nor is Temple's comment just.

Theodorick.—Theodoric the Great, king of the Ostrogoths,

invaded Italy in 489, conquered it, and ruled it till his death in 526

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1 9 *Charlemain*—Charlemagne, Charles the Great, (circ 742-814) was King of France and Emperor of the Western Roman Empire. He was great as soldier and as statesman, and was the founder of the Holy Roman Empire. He completely subjugated, and Christianised, the Saxons on the Continent

1 10. *Rustica Roman.*—Rustic Latin

1 11. *Romance*—This is really a general word, applied to the various modern languages (French, Spanish, Italian, etc) which originated in Latin

1 15 *Valentinian*—This seems to refer to Valentinian III, Roman Emperor 425—455 A D

1 19 *A new sort*, etc—Temple is entirely wrong here. The word *rhyme* has nothing to do with *runes*, and the derivation he rejects (from Greek *rhythmos*, *rhythm*, is the correct one (See the New Oxford Dictionary) Nor is runic writing associated with the Goths—it was used particularly by Scandinavians and Anglo-Saxons. Anglo-Saxon poetry was originally unrhymed and alliterative. Rhyme appears in the *Rhyming Poem* (in the *Exeter Book*), and it was evidently an exciting experiment. This *Poem*, says Professor Saintsbury, "must be as old at least as the tenth century, or the very earliest eleventh. Now, not merely at that time, but much later, Anglo-Saxon was rebel to rhyme, even two hundred years after, in Layamon, the appearances of that instrument are but occasional and very rudimentary." Even in the fourteenth century the old unrhymed, alliterative metre as used by Langland disputed the ground with the rhyming metres of Chaucer.

1. 23 *Gothick*.—See note on p. 60, l. 3

1. 25. *Odin*—The supreme deity of Teutonic tribes. The story that he introduced the runic letters is, of course, mythical.

The *Getae*, or *Getae*, are wrongly identified by Temple with the Goths. They were a tribe of Thracian descent.

1. 30. *Goths*.—Again *Teutonic peoples* should be used rather than *Goths*.

l 31. *Runers*.—Used erroneously by Temple for writers of iuic poems.

Runers, or rymers —The same mistake as in ll 20–22

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l 13 *Allusions*.—See note on p 61, l 11

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l 3 *Till the aucent learning...two hundred years ago* — The Renaissance, beginning in the middle of the 15th century

l 7 *Dithyrambick* —*Dithyrambs* were originally Greek hymns sung in honour of Bacchus to the accompaniment of dancing; and from the extravagance and frenzy into which these degenerated the term was later applied to any lyric of an unrestrained, "raving" kind

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l 20. *Wizards or witches* —*Wizard* is connected with *wise*, but it is very doubtful whether *witch* is

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l 8. *Ysland* —Iceland. The inhabitants of Iceland are Scandinavians, and thus Teutonic; and the Icelandic language has remained almost unchanged from the colonisation of the island in the 9th century to the present day

l 15. *Lougaroos* —*Loups-garous* The English term is *were-wolves*

l 18. *Mara*.—The original sense of *nightmare*, which now usually means a bad dream, was "a female spirit or monster supposed to beset people and animals by night, settling upon them when they are asleep and producing the feeling of suffocation by the weight." (New Oxford Dictionary) It is connected with the O H G word *mara*

l 20. *Old Nicka* —*Nick*, or more usually *Old Nick*, a familiar name for the devil, is probably an abbreviation of *Nicholas*. The obsolete word *nicher* meant an imaginary water-spirit, but the New Oxford Dictionary says there is no evidence of a connection between *Nick* and *nicher*

l 21 *Bo* —An interjection used to surprise or frighten It has not the connection suggested by Temple

l 24 *Rhyming rats to death* —In Elizabethan literature there are frequent references to the supposed power of verse to

destroy animals and even human beings, and the destruction of rats in Ireland is specially mentioned,—e.g. in Randolph's play, *The Jealous Lovers*—

And my poets

Shall with a satire steeped in gall and vinegar

Rhyme 'em to death, as they do rats in Ireland

Cf. *As You Like It*, III 2 187-8

l 28 *Septs*—Clans, particularly applied to clans in Ireland.

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l 13. *Grace*—Prayer before or after eating

l 14 *Constant*—Regular

Vulgar.—Commonly known

l 31 *Some*—Even Spenser attempted this, but very quickly discovered that classical metres were alien to the English language

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l. 1 *Petrarch*—Petrarch (1304-74), great Italian poet, whose work was one of the most important influences in the Revival of Learning. His sonnets are his greatest work, and they "moulded the lyric poetry of the Renaissance"

Spenser—Spenser's lyric poetry is here referred to, and his epic at l. 15

l 2 *Ronsard* (1524-85), a French poet, and leader of that group of seven poets, called the *Pleiade*, who sought to reduce both the language and the literature of France to classical form. His work is chiefly lyrical.

l 3 *Ariosto* (1474-1533), an Italian poet whose great work is the epic, *Orlando Furioso*, the poem that Spenser sought to "emulate," and even to "overgo," in his *Faerie Queene*. Though the spirit of Spenser was totally different from that of Ariosto, whose attitude towards chivalry was one of amusement and irony, he owed much to him as regards scheme and method, and suggestion of incident and situation

Tasso (1544-95), author of the great Italian epic, *Gerusalemme Liberata*. This appeared in 1582, when Spenser was writing *The Faerie Queene*. "Spenser read it eagerly. Its more rigid construction, which later led Hurd, in his *Letters*

on *Chivalry*, to regard it as 'trimming between the classic and the Gothic manner,' strengthened him in his desire to make his plot closely dependent upon his moral design; whilst its greater dignity of tone, its sincerity of sentiment, its patent seriousness both of style and manner, responded more fully to his own conception of a poet's calling. .. It was his aim in the *Fuero Quene* to combine something of Ariosto's exuberance with the poetic temper of Tasso" (De Selincourt, Intro. to the Oxford *Spenser*, pp. xli-iii)

l 9 *Centiles* —Non-Jews. He means particularly the Greeks and Romans

l 13 *All their attempts...poetry*.—Dryden thought otherwise. He remarked, in the preface (1677) to his opera *The State of Innocence and Fall of Man*, which is a kind of dramatic adaptation of Milton's *Paradise Lost*, that Horace "taxed not Homer, nor the divine Virgil, for interesting their gods in the wars of Troy and Italy, neither, had he now lived, would he have taxed Milton, as our false critics have presumed to do, for his choice of a supernatural argument"

l 27. *Scraps* —See p 51, l 7, and note

l. 28. *Copy of verses* is a phrase formerly used for a short composition in verse

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l 7. *Ancient* —Belonging to the *classical* period of Roman literature, which ended with the Augustan age. Thereafter there was degeneration both of language and of literature.

l 8 *Voluntaries or extemporaries* —Unpremeditated, *extempore* compositions.

l 9. *Priapus* —The god of gardens and vineyards

l. 11. *Martial* (born circ 40 A D.) was, like other distinguished Latin writers of the first century, of Spanish birth. He is famous for his witty and perfectly phrased verse-epigrams, exceedingly varied in theme. There were epigrammatists both in the Republican and in the Augustan age (Temple is wrong in saying, "The *only* ancient," etc), but "it is on the whole true to say that Martial made the modern epigram, that is to say, the short poem with a point" (M S Dimsdale, *Latin Literature*, p 474)

Ausonius (310-395), born at Bordeaux, was a Latin poet who wrote much besides epigrams, and whose epigrams were much inferior to those of Martial

l 30 *Run* — *I e* we would have conceit run

l 34 *Black patches* — They were formerly used to adorn the face.

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l 1 *Spangles* — Tiny discs of metal, statched on as ornaments to a dress

A ridiculous effect would be produced if a face were covered with patches, or a dress with spangles

l 18 The lines are from Horace, *Satires*, I 4 81-5 "He who backbites an absent friend, or fails to defend him against the blame of another, who eagerly seeks to win men's laughter and the reputation of a wit, who can invent what he has not seen, who cannot keep a secret—this man is black at heart, and you, as true Roman, must beware of him"

l 25 *Rablans*.—See note on p 35 l 20

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l 4 *The matchless writer of Don Quixot* — Cervantes
See note on p 35, l. 18

l 9. *La Secchia Rapita* (*The Rape of the Bucket*) is a burlesque epic by Tassoni, an Italian poet (1565-1635)

l 10 *Scarron* (1610-60), a French comic poet, dramatist and satirist. His *Virgile Travesty*, a burlesque of Virgil, was exceedingly popular. It was imitated in the *Scarronides* (1664) of Charles Cotton (see note on l. 12)

l 11 *Sir John Mince* — Sir John Mennes (1599-1671), a wit and poet.

Hudibras — The witty anti-Puritan satire of Samuel Butler (1612-80)

l. 12 *Cotton*.—Charles Cotton (1630-87), English poet and translator, particularly noteworthy for his translation of Montaigne. See note on l 10

l. 20 *Pretence*.—Again used in the old sense of *claim*. So *Pretending* in l: 25.

l 23 *Allowed*.—Admitted, agreed

1 31. *Cardinal Richelieu*—The French statesman Cardinal Richelieu (1585-1642) was the founder of the French Academy (See note on p 31, 1 30.) He was a genuine patron of letters and of science

1. 33. *The French wits refinement of their language.*—See notes on p. 1, l. 21, and p 52, l 25

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1 20. *Humour*—In these paragraphs about Comedy Temple is using the word *humour* neither in Ben Jonson's sense nor in the modern sense. He means *individuality* of character in Comedy. It is usual in comedy, he says, to represent *typical* people (he refers particularly to Roman comedy), but the English method is to portray an infinite variety of persons, distinguished by individual qualities—yet certainly not less true to life than the type-characters. On page 73 he suggests that the causes of this distinctive characteristic of English comedy lies in the great variety in English life and character.—a variety due, he thinks, to climatic, social and political conditions. Further (p 74), the Englishman varies from mood to mood more than other men—and *humour* suggests a mood as well as a character.

1 23 *Molière* (1622-73) the great French writer of comedy. Though Molière's greatest figures have something of the "type" about them, they do not lack individuality, and there is plenty of variety of characterisation in his work as a whole. He is the greatest of all writers of the *comedy of character*, as distinguished from the Roman *comedy of incident*, the *comedy of manners* as produced by Molière's English imitators of the post-Restoration period, and Shakespeare's *romantic comedy*. Though Shakespeare is far beyond Molière in range, and in individualisation, of character, Shakespearean comedy is not, in this sense, comedy of character, partly because it depends largely upon incident and partly because of a certain idealisation, a certain remoteness from the actualities of daily life. Molière sternly, and with satiric purpose, depicts men and circumstances as they are, and in his greatest plays interest is entirely focussed upon character. (See Meredith's *Essay on Comedy*, W. L. Courtney's *The Idea of Comedy in Old Saws and Modern Instances*, John Palmer's

little book on *Comedy in the Art and Craft of Letters* series, and Mark Hunter's essay on *The Substance of Shakespearean Comedy in The Mysore University Magazine*, September, 1920.)

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1. 1. *It may seem, etc.*—He refers to the Roman comedy of Plautus and Terence, in which stock characters such as those mentioned continually reappeared. They were simply common types, and no difference was made between examples of the type.

1. 6. *All the variety...events.*—I.e. this is comedy rather of incident than of character.

1. 22. *Originals.*—Persons possessing individuality of character.

1. 23. *That appear what they are.*—Whose speech and action is sincere, natural, unconstrained.

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1. 19. *Epidemical.*—Affecting the community, general.

1. 24. *Humour.*—Here the word seems to approach the modern sense.

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1. 3. *Unequal.*—Changeable.

1. 4. *Ends.*—Purposes.

1. 16. *Pretenders.*—Claimants.

1. 19. *Debauchés.*—Debauchees.

1. 23. *Rosicrucia principles.*—The word *Rosicrucian* is derived from the Latin words meaning *rosy* and *cross*, and the earliest mention of Rosicrucianism was in 1614, in a book called *The Glory of the Brotherhood of the Rosy Cross*, by a German named Andreac. He said that the Rosicrucians were a secret society founded two or three hundred years before by one Rosenkrenz; that they had discovered the philosopher's stone; and that they knew how to transmute base metals into gold by dissolving light by means of dew. He gave many other particulars as to the ideas of the Rosicrucians, including the belief (which makes the machinery of Pope's *Rape of the Lock*) in "intelligences"—sylphs, gnomes, salamanders and nymphs. For a long time the Rosicrucians were thought of

as a real body of mystics and alchemists, but it is now suspected that the sect was wholly imaginary

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l 12 *Jeremiah* —A great Hebrew prophet, whose prophetic work began about 627 B C

l 15. *Lycurgus*.—Not the Spartan lawgiver, but the Athenian orator see note on p. 5, l. 24

l 25 *Scipio* —Scipio was the name of a great patrician family of Rome. Temple refers to that Scipio who first became consul in 147 B C.

l 26 *Terence*, one of the two great Roman writers of comedy, was contemporary with Scipio Terence was born at Carthage, and in his early years was a slave in Rome, being eventually "freed" by his master, but Scipio treated him as an equal

l 33 *Pretender* —Claimant to the name of poet

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l 2 *Affecting* —Practising, that is, *writing*

l 5 *The unequal mixture of the modern languages*.—See para. beginning at foot of p 61

l 7 *Poetry*.—See note on p 25, l 24

Musick —See note on p. 25, l 20

l. 22. *Affections* —In the old, general sense of *feelings*

l 31 *Constitution* —Used here for mental constitution, disposition.

l 32. *Fathers* —See note on p. 36, l 14.

l 33 *Predestination*.—God's foreordaining of some of mankind to eternal life.

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l 4 *Easy* —Tranquil, untroubled

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